LOUISIANA HISTORY

Published quarterly by the

Louisiana Historical Association

in cooperation with

Louisiana State University

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Charles P. Roland, Tulane University
Raleigh A. Suarez, McNeese State College
Eugene P. Watson, Northwestern State College

MANAGING EDITOR

Edwin Adams Davis

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

A. Otis Hebert, Jr.

FALL 1960 • Volume I, No. 4

Louisiana History is distributed to members of the Louisiana Historical Association. Single copies, $2.00. Membership in the Association: *Individual*—Student, $2.00; Active, $5.00; Family, $6.00; Contributing, $25.00; Sustaining, $100.00; Life, $1,000.00. *Associate Organizations*—Active, $10.00; Sustaining, $100.00; *Cooperating Agencies*—Active, $10.00. *Contributing Corporations*—Active, $25.00; Sustaining, $500.00. Correspondence should be addressed to the Executive-Secretary, Memorial Hall, 929 Camp Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Permission is granted to reprint any article or other material, either in whole or in part, provided credit is given to *Louisiana History* (including date citation). The Louisiana Historical Association disclaims responsibility for statements whether of fact or of opinion made by contributors.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Managing Editor, *Louisiana History*, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Louisiana History is published quarterly by the Louisiana Historical Association at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Second-class postage paid at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Contents

PAGE

Gloom Envelops New Orleans, April 24 to May 2, 1862 281
By James O. Lang

The Lafourche District in 1862: Confederate Revival 300
By Barnes F. Lathrop

Collections in the Archives Department of Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University 320
By Connie G. Griffith

Collections in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University 328
By V. L. Bedsole

A French Traveler's View of Ante-Bellum New Orleans 335
By Henry Bertram Hill and Larry Gara

Vignettes 342

Notes and Comments 346

In Memoriam 350

Book Reviews 354

Appendix 365

Book Reviews:

PAGE

Opotowsky, *The Longs of Louisiana,* by G. W. McGinty..... 354

Patrick, *The Fall of Richmond,* by E. Merton Coulter..... 355

Brunn, *The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band,* by John A. Hunter..... 356

Cumming, *Kate: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse,* by John Duffy 359

Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders,* by O. E. Lovell, Jr..... 361

Appendix

Annual Message of Robert C. Wickliffe, Governor of the State of Louisiana, to the General Assembly
(Courtesy of Louisiana Room, Louisiana State University Library) 365

Inaugural Address of Governor Thomas O. Moore, Delivered January 23, 1860, to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana
(Courtesy of Louisiana Room, Louisiana State University Library) 380

Special Message of Thomas O. Moore, Governor of the State of Louisiana, to the General Assembly, December, 1860
(Courtesy of Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University) 386

Gloom Envelops New Orleans: April 24 to May 2, 1862

By JAMES O. LANG

who holds a master's degree from Louisiana State University and teaches at Istrouma High School.

" . . . A GLOOM has settled o'er my spirit, a gloom envelopes our dearly beloved city."[1] With these words school girl Clara Solomon aptly expressed the sentiments felt by a vast majority of the residents in New Orleans following the nine days of April 24 to May 2, 1862, for it was during those days that New Orleans fell to Flag Officer David G. Farragut and was occupied by Federal troops under Major-General Benjamin F. Butler.

For several months prior to April, 1862, the city had felt the effects of the Federal blockade, and by April 24, Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson had been under attack for more than a week. Though concerned about the conditions below the city, the news that several Federal vessels had passed the forts came as a shock to a majority of the people, for the populace had been lulled into a feeling of false security. One correspondent, reporting the first attack on April 13, wrote, " . . . the, enemy, if he runs the gauntlet successfully, will have to make a better fight than we think he will or can." He continued, " . . . we believe them [the forts] to be abundantly sufficient for the work that lies before them."[2] Late in the evening of April 23, Brigadier-General Johnson K. Duncan, commander of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, re-

[1] Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862 (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

[2] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 15, 1862.

ported to Major-General Mansfield Lovell that the forts were holding their own and were likely to continue to do so.[3] As a result of such assurances, only a small minority of the people realized how inadequate were the defenses of the city.

About two o'clock on the morning of April 24, the Federal fleet began an attempt to slip by the forts. When General Lovell, on an inspection trip downriver, saw that a number of the enemy vessels had succeeded in their mission, he realized that New Orleans was doomed. In an official report he stated, "I was well aware that my batteries of 32 pounders at the lower levees, manned by inexperienced troops, could not detain for any length of time the heavy ships of war of the enemy armed with 9 and 11 inch guns."[4] Since the main defense force in the city consisted of only 3,000 militia armed with muskets and shotguns, no effective resistance could be offered.[5] Lovell rushed back to New Orleans to order the removal of troops and supplies.[6]

As dawn came on Thursday, April 24, the residents of New Orleans began another day of a rather precarious existence. Food and supplies of all kinds were scarce and those available were sold at highly inflated prices; flour sold at twenty-five dollars a barrel, eggs at a dollar per dozen, and butter at a dollar a pound.[7] There was some speculation, but the high prices were due to the law of supply and demand. The state of the cotton market showed how effectively New Orleans had been isolated. On April 24, the total amount of cotton in the warehouses numbered only 11,214 bales, and since September 1, 1861, less than 35,000 bales had been exported compared to 1,786,000 the preceding year.[8]

[3] *Ibid.*, April 24, 1862.

[4] Major-General Mansfield Lovell to Adjutant and Inspector-General S. Cooper, April 26, 1862, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 vols., Washington, 1880-1901) Series I, Vol. VI, 510-512. (Hereafter cited as *O.R.A.*).

[5] Lovell to Cooper, May 22, 1862, *ibid.*, 513.

[6] Lovell to Cooper, April 26, 1862, *ibid.*, 510-512.

[7] Sarah Butler to Harriet Heard, May 2, 1862, Jessie Ames Marshall (ed.) *Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler During the Period of the Civil War* (5 vols., Norwood, Mass., 1917), I, 436-440.

[8] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 26, 1862.

The character of the male population was even more indicative that New Orleans had been touched by war. With most of the best fighting material away in the armies of the Confederacy, the men remaining in the city consisted chiefly of old men and foreigners.[9] Within the past few weeks all but one company of the regular Confederate troops in New Orleans had been sent to reinforce the army of Albert Sidney Johnston.[10] Hundreds of these, wounded at Shiloh, now filled the hospitals and homes of the City.[11] Many were seriously wounded and some were dying; that morning at ten o'clock the Quitman Lodge planned to conduct Masonic rites for Captain John Knight of the Crescent Rifles who had died from wounds received at Shiloh.[12]

At mid morning the people were suddenly thrown into a panic, for news arrived that the Yankees had passed the forts and were on the way to New Orleans. The *Delta* issued an extra, and, ". . . like an electric shock, the news soon spread all over the city."[13] Soon the general alarm, twelve distinct taps of the fire bell, rang out—the signal for the militia units to report to their respective assembly areas.[14] Business activity came to a standstill, as most of the merchants closed their stores.[15] Banks requested that depositors withdraw their "tin boxes" and valuables entrusted for safe keeping, and at noon, two of the banks declined to accept any more deposits and closed their doors.[16] Confederate currency was in "a perfect state of chaos," and many people were discarding it.[17] Rumor after rumor made the rounds, and each new one added to the confusion.[18] Teachers dismissed the schools and sent the stu-

[9] Testimony of Lt. Colonel E. F. Palfrey, June 9, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 620.

[10] Lovell to Cooper, May 22, 1862, *ibid.*, 512.

[11] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 24, 1862.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] "Reminiscences of Wartimes," Anonymous Diary, April 25, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 182-184. (Hereafter cited as Diary).

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 25, 1862.

[16] New Orleans *Crescent*, April 26, 1862.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 25, 1862.

dents home.[19] Women began to collect the silverware, jewelry and firearms so they could be hidden from the enemy.[20] Others, left without male protection, went into town to seek advice from trusted friends, and entire families made ready to leave.[21]

As the hours passed, the crowds in the streets assumed the characteristics of a mob. A number of persons broke into the Marine Hospital, which had been converted into a small arms factory, and carried away guns, ammunition and everything else that could be removed.[22] To help maintain order, the Board of Provost Marshals ordered all citizens not connected with the public service to retire to their homes by nine P.M.[23]

Meanwhile General Lovell returned to New Orleans and issued orders for the removal of troops and equipment. Major S. L. James was ordered to detain all steamboats at the landing until they could be loaded with government stores, and during the day ordinance officers loaded large quantities of supplies.[24] Lovell sent orders to T. S. Williams, General Superintendent of the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad, to hold all trains in readiness for the removal of government property and troops and to allow no citizens or private property to be transported.[25] As soon as a boat or a train was loaded, it was sent north; the boats, in addition to freight, carried many passengers who were fleeing the city.[26]

Much difficulty was encountered in getting transportation and labor to transport and load equipment. Many laborers re-

19 Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862.

20 Florence Cooney Tompkins, "Women of the Sixties," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II (1919), 282-285.

21 Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862.

22 Testimony of D. W. Briskell, April 17, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 576.

23 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 25, 1862.

24 Testimony of Major S. L. James, April 11, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 568-569.

25 Testimony of T. S. Williams, April 18, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *ibid.*, 579.

26 Lovell to Cooper, April 26, 1862, *ibid.*, 510-511; Diary, April 25, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 182-184.

fused to work, while other people refused to accept Confederate notes in payment for services or for property bought.[27] A provost marshal spent the entire day seizing enough wagons and teams to move the machinery of a small arms factory to the steamboat landing, but when an attempt was made to procure a boat it was found that several of the boats had been deserted by all crew members except the captains.[28]

Before evacuating the city, Lovell made certain that the cotton on hand was destroyed. Teams and wagons were pressed into service to haul the cotton from the warehouses to the levee where it was put to the torch. Steamboats loaded with cotton were also burned. As the fires raged, ". . . the glare set men and women weeping and wailing."[29] The total amount of cotton destroyed was estimated at 13,000 bales, and the market report for April 25, 1862, showed cotton on hand—"none."[30]

Late Thursday afternoon, Lovell took a belated step to resist the enemy. The Committee of Public Safety had offered rewards for the destruction of the enemy vessels by private enterprise: for a vessel larger than a gunboat, $50,000.00; for a gunboat, $25,000.00; and for every mortar boat, $10,000.00.[31] Several citizens informed Lovell that a large number of men could easily be assembled to board enemy vessels and carry them by assault. Although Lovell said such a plan was impractical, he agreed to authorize the attempt when urged to do so. He authorized Major James to seize all vessels not being used to haul government supplies. A call was made for 1,000 volunteers to man the boats, and the citizens promised to have the men at the landing by nine o'clock the following morning. During the night, Major James prepared the boats for the mission by having cotton bales sent down to protect them and

27 Lovell to Cooper, April 26, 1862, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 511.

28 Testimony of F. W. Cooke, June 18, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *ibid.*, 634-635.

29 George W. Cable, "New Orleans Before the Capture," *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1887), II, 20.

30 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 26, 1862; New Orleans *Bee*, May 16, 1862.

31 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 24, 1862.

molasses barrels placed in the hulls to keep them afloat in the event they were penetrated by shot. The next morning only one hundred forty men, under a Captain Dupiere, reported for the mission. Because the number was so few, Major James ordered Captain Dupiere and the men to take a train for Camp Moore.[32]

During the night of April 24, the crowds ignored the plea to be home by nine o'clock. Many of them remained in the streets through the night watching the fires and contributing to the commotion. By morning, Friday, April 25, the people were frightened, sad, and angry; "We felt how cruelly we had been deceived," wrote Marion Southwood.[33] Part of the crowd, seeking to vent their anger, seized a man whose only crime was that "he looked like a stranger and might be a spy" and hanged him from a lamp post at the corner of Magazine and Common—luckily, a patrol of the European Brigade appeared in time to cut him down and save his life.[34]

On the levee complete confusion and chaos prevailed. At the boat landings the military was still attempting to load equipment on the boats, and citizens were trying to engage passage. Elsewhere on the levee and around the warehouses, the mob—men, women and children, black and white—broke into the hogsheads and barrels and made off with sugar, molasses, bacon, rice, and corn. Individuals, claiming ownership of some of the property, tried to save their goods, but with little success. A man on horseback, dressed in Confederate uniform, encouraged and directed much of the mob's activity. He ordered a pile of corn burned in spite of the protests of a member of the Committee of Public Safety.[35] Great disorder prevailed until General Paul Juge, Jr., assumed command of the foreign brigades and

[32] Lovell to Cooper, May 22, 1862, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 515-516; Testimony of Major S. L. James, April 11, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *ibid.*, 568-569; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 25, 1862.

[33] Marion Southwood, *"Beauty and Booty:" The Watchword of New Orleans* (New York, 1867), 19.

[34] Cable, *Battles and Leaders*, II, 20.

[35] Testimony of D. W. Briskell, April 17, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 576-577; Diary, April 25, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 182-184.

received general authority from Mayor John T. Monroe to maintain order. Decisive action taken by the European Brigade under General Juge soon restored order on the levee.[36] Although the patrols of the European Brigade prevented wholesale looting of business houses, thefts occurred, and between twenty and thirty bundles of newsprint, belonging to the *Daily Picayune*, were taken from the warehouse of the Jackson Railroad.[37]

Meanwhile military and naval officers set fire to the ships and boats that could not get away. After several half-hearted attempts to tow the unfinished ironclad *Mississippi* failed, it, too, was fired by the contractors. Seeing the *Mississippi* in flames deepened the gloom of the people. Clara Solomon exclaimed, "Oh! *never* shall I forget the 25th of Apr. 1862. Such expressions of woe as were on the faces of everyone, and such sadness as reigned in every heart."[38] Another witness, describing the burning cotton and ships, wrote, "It was a terribly magnificent spectacle." The witness continued, ". . . and it impressed me more strongly with an idea of warfare than all the fighting and slaughter I had ever seen."[39]

The people were indignant over the burning of the *Mississippi*, and after setting fire to the ship, Nelson and Asa F. Tift, the contractors, fled up the river with some naval officers. On reaching Vicksburg they were seized by an angry mob and almost lynched. Inquiry by the naval officers revealed that the provost marshal at Vicksburg had received two telegrams from Pierre Soulé directing the arrest of the Tifts for burning the *Mississippi*. The men were released after the naval officers explained the situation at New Orleans.[40]

[36] New Orleans *Bee*, April 26, 1862.

[37] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 29, 1862.

[38] Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862.

[39] Madame Loreta Janeta Velasquez, *The Woman in Battle* (Hartford, Conn., 1876), 236.

[40] Testimony of Felix Senlac, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (30 vols., Washington, 1894-1922), Series II, Vol. I, 509. (Hereafter cited as *O.R.N.*) C. W. Read, "Reminiscences of the Confederate States Navy," *Southern Historical Society Papers*, I (1876), 347; James Morris Morgan, *Recollections of A Rebel Reefer* (Boston and New York, 1917), 76.

The evacuation of troops began during the morning of April 25, with most of them going to Camp Moore by trains of the Jackson Railroad. However, some confusion developed. At Chalmette the Twenty-sixth Louisiana Infantry was without its commanding officer. When the fleet began firing on the batteries, the officers of the regiment decided that each company commander should take his company out of the city the best way he could. The regiment marched through the city in good order until it reached Esplanade Street. There the head of the column received orders to march to the Jackson Railroad where cars would be waiting, but Captain Lewis Guion of Company D, at the rear of the column, never received the order. Following previous instructions, he marched his company to Carrolton and boarded a steamer which carried them to Donaldsonville. Several days later the company reached Camp Moore after an overland march from Baton Rouge.[41] Captain Edward G. Butler, First Louisiana Artillery Regiment, marched his battery from Chalmette to headquarters in New Orleans but found no one there. He later wrote his mother, "I then went on to the R. R. and with about half of my Co. embarked for this place [Camp Moore]. The rest deserted or were too drunk to be able to walk and there was no earthly way of having them transported."[42]

As the Federal fleet threaded its way through the burning ships, the crowds on the levee increased in size, and the defiant gestures and cheers for Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy showed plainly the welcome awaiting the invaders. Some armed members of the crowd fired on a small group which cheered the old flag and the Union.[43] Although the tone of the crowd was defiant, one of the witnesses was great-

[41] Lewis Guion, Diary, April 25, 1862 (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana); Winchester Hall, *The Story of the 26th Louisiana Infantry, in the Service of the Confederate States* (n.p., 1890?), 7.

[42] Edward G. Butler to his mother, April 28, 1862, Thomas Butler and Family Papers, (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

[43] David G. Farragut to John T. Monroe, April 26, 1862, printed in New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1862; James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans* (New York, 1864), 69; New Orleans *Bee*, April 26, 1862.

ly impressed by the sight of the enemy vessels. Madame Velasquez, a secret agent for the Confederacy, recalled, ". . . when I saw these splendid vessels appearing off the levee I began to have a greater respect for the power of the Federal government than I had had before, and a greater appreciation of the weakness of the Confederacy."[44]

By noon the fleet has anchored in the river, and shortly thereafter, Farragut sent Captain Theodorus Bailey and Lieutenant George Perkins ashore to demand the surrender of the city. As Bailey and Perkins walked toward City Hall, the mob swarmed around them brandishing cocked pistols and other weapons and yelling, "Shoot them! Kill them! Hang them!"[45] Bailey later reported that now and then, however, his sleeve would be pulled, his hand pressed, or he would hear a whisper, "Why didn't you come before?"[46] The Federal officers transmitted to Mayor Monroe Farragut's demands for the immediate surrender of the city, the raising of the United States flag over the Post Office, Custom-house, and the Mint, and the lowering of the Louisiana flag which flew over City Hall. Monroe pointed out that, as Lovell was in command of the city, he had no authority to surrender. When Lovell was called in, he refused to surrender the city or his forces, but stated that he was withdrawing his troops, and the city officials could act as they deemed proper.[47] The Federal officers considered Lovell extremely haughty. Referring to him in his official report, Farragut wrote, "His Lordship said he would surrender nothing, but at the same time he would retire and leave the mayor unembarrassed."[48] The question of surrender having been referred back to him, Monroe said that he would submit the matter to the members of the council and send a formal reply after receiving their advice. Upon obtaining this answer,

[44] Velasquez, *The Woman in Battle*, 233.

[45] Cable, *Battles and Leaders*, II, 21; New York *Daily Tribune*, May 10, 1862.

[46] New York *Daily Tribune, ibid.*

[47] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 26, 1862.

[48] David G. Farragut to Assistant Secretary of War G. V. Fox, April 27, 1862, printed in Frank Moore (ed.) *The Rebellion Record* (12 vols., New York, 1861-1868), IV, 522-523.

Bailey and Perkins withdrew accompanied by an escort furnished by General Lovell.[49]

At about ten o'clock on Saturday, April 26, Mayor Monroe met with members of the City Council and other leading citizens. He made an official report of his talk with Bailey and Perkins and read a letter, written for him by Pierre Soulé, answering the demands of Farragut. The letter pointed out the defenseless state of the city and said, "The city is yours by the power of brutal force, and not by any choice or consent of its inhabitants. It is for you to determine what shall be the fate that awaits her."[50] It further reiterated the refusal of the city to voluntarily lower the Confederate flags. The City Council approved the letter to Farragut and passed a resolution declaring that ". . . no resistance will be made to the United States."[51]

Before the Council had completed its deliberations, two more emissaries arrived with a letter from Farragut. At about ten-thirty several boats loaded with about twenty armed marines arrived at the wharf. A Lieutenant Birmingham of the Crescent Reserves informed Lieutenant Albert Kautz that the marines could not land. After some argument, the marines were left behind, and Birmingham escorted Kautz and Midshipman John H. Read through an angry crowd. Farragut's letter repeated the demands for the surrender of the city and the lowering of the flags. Again Monroe refused to yield. He was determined that New Orleans should not experience the humiliation of having to lower the flags.[52]

While the negotiations were in progress, a mob swarmed around the City Hall, kicking at the doors and swearing they would hang Kautz and Read. Fearing for the safety of the Federal officers, Monroe and Soulé spoke to the crowd while

[49] Marion A. Baker, "Farragut's Demands for the Surrender of New Orleans," Battles and Leaders, II, 95.

[50] John T. Monroe to David G. Farragut, April 26, 1862, printed in New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* April 27, 1862.

[51] New Orleans *Daily Picayune, ibid.*

[52] Diary, April 26, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers,* XXIII (1895), 184.

the Mayor's secretary, Marion A. Baker, and two police officials escorted Kautz and Read out the back entrance where a closed carriage was waiting and drove them to the boat landing.[53]

Although the rigid observance of military protocol occupied the attention of the Federal command and the city fathers, defiance was the watchword of the people. After a small detachment from the fleet had raised the United States flag over the Mint, a crowd led by William B. Mumford, Lieutenant N. Holmes, Sergeant Burns and James Reed cut down the flag. While Mumford was in the act of lowering the flag, the party was fired upon from the enemy vessels. There were two discharges—one of grape and one a shell from a small swivel gun—but, fortunately, there were no casualties from the shelling.[54] After the flag was lowered, it was dragged through the streets to the front of the City Hall and there torn into shreds.[55] General Butler, a few weeks later, hanged Mumford for his part in this incident.[56]

No effort was spared to show contempt for the enemy. Eight men of the Pickwick Rangers, home from Shiloh, marched to the steamboat landing carrying a Confederate flag and playing the *Bonnie Blue Flag* and *Dixie* on a fife and drum. When sharpshooters in the rigging of the *Hartford* fired upon them, a stray bullet killed a spectator by the name of Brown. During the melee, a woman standing near by took the flag and waved it in the face of the enemy.[57]

Monroe's defiance and Farragut's procrastination in occupying the city gave Confederate military officials additional time to remove government property and equipment. On the

[53] Albert Kautz, "Incidents of the Occupation of New Orleans," *Battles and Leaders*, II, 93; Baker, *ibid.*, 96-97; James Morris Morgan to Dr. M. L. Bonham. Jr., October 10, 1916 Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge Records (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

[54] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1862.

[55] Diary, April 26, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 185.

[56] New Orleans *Bee*, June 9, 1862.

[57] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1862.

twenty-sixth Lovell ordered Major James to return to New Orleans and direct the further removal of equipment and supplies. Adequate railway facilities were provided, and for the next four days and nights James continued to collect and remove much Confederate, state, and private property that could be useful to the Confederacy. James received excellent cooperation in this endeavor. The Committee of Public Safety provided funds to hire wagons and drays, citizens pointed out private property that would be useful to the army, and mounted men covered the city collecting military supplies. The major requested that the mayor give him the arms of the European Brigade, but this request Monroe wisely refused. The amount of property and equipment removed required three or four trains a day for three weeks to later remove it from Camp Moore.[58]

By late Saturday afternoon the crowds began to disperse for they were fatigued, many persons having been without sleep since rising on Thursday. For the first time in several days the papers reported, "New Orleans was very quiet during the night."[59]

The next day, Sunday, the twenty-seventh, was relatively quiet. Negotiations came to a standstill, and rumors made the rounds that the fleet was out of ammunition.[60] Some apprehension began to appear in the fleet. Lieutenant Perkins wrote, "We may be in a bad fix now, if the forts do not fall, and it is not safe for anyone to leave our ships and go anywhere in a boat. Nothing is settled, and there is danger and risk about every movement."[61] During the morning Farragut sent out a detachment to traverse and inspect the fortifications above the city and to cut the telegraph wires. Becoming thirsty, the party entered a tavern and ordered drinks, but fearful of poi-

[58] Testimony of S. L. James, April 11, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 568-569; Testimony of T. S. Williams, April 18, 1863, Court of Inquiry, *ibid.*, 579.

[59] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1862.

[60] Edward G. Butler to his mother, April 28, 1862.

[61] Letter of George H. Perkins, April 27, 1862, in George E. Belknap (ed.) *Letters of Capt. Geo. Hamilton Perkins* (Concord, New Hampshire, 1886), 70-71.

Fig. 31: *Harper's Pictorial History of the Civil War* (2 vols., [New York], 1894), I, 271.

Fig. 32: *Frank Leslie's Illustrated History of the Civil War* (New York, 1895), 132

Fig. 33: *Ibid.*, 147

Fig. 34: *Ibid.*, 133

Fig. 35: *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., New York, 1887), II, 40.

Fig. 36: *Frank Leslie's,* 129

Fig. 37: *Battles and Leaders*, II, 92.

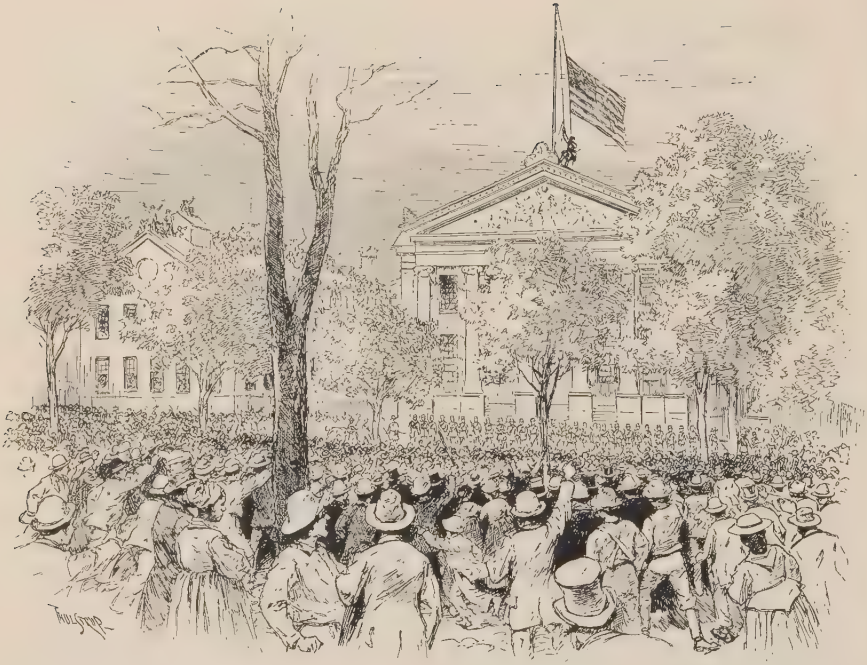

Fig. 38: *Ibid.*, 94

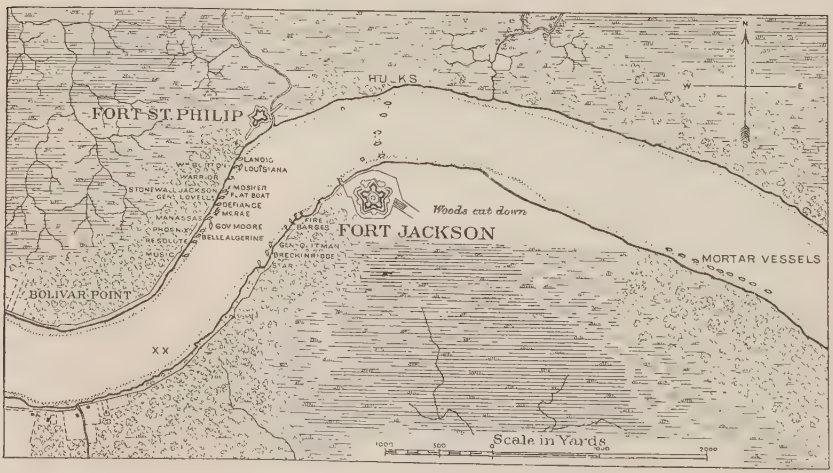

Fig. 39: *Ibid.*, 36

son, they forced the proprieter to first taste the drinks himself.[62] In the evening some excitement development at the livestock landing when it was reported that cattle were being slaughtered at night and delivered to the enemy vessels. However, no disturbance actually occurred as the Committee of Public Safety moved in quickly and put a stop to all provisioning of the enemy.[63]

On Monday, April 28, crowds of people were on the levee and around City Hall from morning till night. Occasionally there were quick assemblings in other parts of the city whenever an exciting incident occurred. As nearly all the stores were still closed and provisioning the inhabitants had become a problem, people, in great numbers, continued to leave the city.[64]

At mid-morning Farragut sent a "barbarous" note to Mayor Monroe, in which he regretted the determination of the city authorities not to remove the Louisiana flag and protested the conduct of the people in pulling down the flag of the United States and insulting Federal officers. He threatened to fire on the city if his demands were not met and gave forty-eight hours in which to remove the women and children.[65] In a letter replying to Farragut, Monroe severely condemned him. He pointed out that the act of raising the United States flag over the Mint while negotiations were still in progress was a flagrant violation of the courtesies and absolute rights that prevailed between belligerents under such conditions. He further pointed out the impossibility of evacuating the women and children and condemned Farragut for wishing to humiliate a defenseless city.[66]

When news of Farragut's latest demands were known, the people became extremely angry. Within an hour or two a

[62] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 29, 1862.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] David G. Farragut to John T. Monroe, April 28, 1862, printed in New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 29, 1862.

[66] John T. Monroe to David G. Farragut, April 28, 1862, *ibid.*

large number of the leading ladies of the city signed a memorial to the City Council praying that body to persist in its determination not to lower the flag of Louisiana from City Hall.[67] Despite the bravado shown by the memorial, some women became frightened by Farragut's threat to fire on the city, Clara Solomon and her mother began preparations to leave if worse came to worst. Clara recorded in her diary, "Immediately we went to work and converted the raw materials into edibles. I had great hopes that the worst would not come to pass, but still we had to prepare for the emergency. We intended to take but a few clothes with us and were willing to make any sacrifice to behold our prided city reduced to ruins rather than it should fall into the hands of the barbarous invaders."[68]

Furious over Farragut's demands, the people made quick reprisal for any show of sympathy for the enemy. Lewis Myers, charged with making signals to the enemy's vessels and saying he wished to surrender to them, was sent to the Parish prison for thirty days.[69] A Frenchman named Joseph Noel went on board the *Hartford* with the Federal emissaries and on returning to the landing at about five o'clock in the afternoon, was seized and severely beaten by a large crowd. Upon being rescued by the European Brigade, he was charged with being a spy and lodged in the First District Police Station near City Hall.[70]

Late on the twenty-eighth Monroe received the following telegram from Jefferson Davis.

> I deeply sympathize with your situation, and recognize with pride the patriotism of the citizens of New Orleans.
>
> Your answer to Commander Farragut leaves to you all the chances and rights of war. General Duncan may prevent reenforcements to the enemy, and General Beauregard has been informed of your condition, and will aid you as he may.
>
> My prayers are with you. There is no personal sacrifice I

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862.

[69] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 29, 1862.

[70] *Ibid.*; Diary, April 29, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers* XXIII (1895), 186.

> would not willingly make for your defense. Maintain firmly the position you took in your reply, and let us hope for a successful issue.[71]

Davis' telegram did nothing for the morale of the city, for earlier in the day Forts Jackson and St. Philip had fallen.

The surrender of the forts decided the issue. Farragut felt that the navy should have the honor of taking formal possession of the city, and toward noon on Tuesday, April 29, a large detachment of sailors and marines under the command of Fleet Captain H. H. Bell came ashore. Supported by two howitzers, the detachment marched to the Custom-house and raised the United States flag over the building. Proceeding to the City Hall, the detachment deployed in front of the building, with each flank protected by a howitzer. While the sullen crowd was held at bay, several officers entered the building and announced that they had come to lower the flag of Louisiana. As Lieutenant Kautz mounted to the roof, Mayor Monroe descended the front steps, requested that the crowd remain quiet, and assumed a position in front of one of the howitzers. With tears in their eyes the people watched as the Federal officers came out of the building and, carrying the flag with them, marched away with the detachment. The secession flag of Louisiana—red, white, and blue striped, with a pale yellow star in the red union—had become a souvenir of the war.[72]

During the evening of the twenty-ninth the City Council passed a resolution praising the work of the European Brigade, and to assist the Brigade in maintaining order, the Council authorized the recruiting of an auxiliary police force in each precinct to serve under the command of General Juge.[73]

The next morning, Wednesday, April 30, Farragut sent a

[71] Jefferson Davis to John T. Monroe, April 28, 1862, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 884.

[72] Kautz, *Battles and Leaders,* II, 93-94; 97; Clara Solomon, Diary, May 4, 1862; Captain John L. Broome to Colonel John Harris, Commandant of U. S. Marine Corps., November 17, 1862, *O.R.N.*, Series 1, Vol. XVIII 236-237.

[73] New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* April 30, 1862.

reply to Monroe's letter of the twenty-eighth. Farragut considered Monroe's letter ". . . so offensive that it will terminate our intercourse; and as soon as General Butler arrives with his forces, I shall turn over the charge of the city to him and assume my naval duties."[74]

As the month of April came to a close, it had been exactly seven days since the fleet had passed the forts. A fitting epitaph for that memorable and tragic week is provided by the words of Thomas K. Wharton: "The month closes with the deplorable fact that our city has been abandoned by the Governor, Gen. Lovell and all his forces and all our government officers. We are now in the hands of Federal troops, with a large fleet of square rigged ships and gunboats in the River. Mayor Monroe has behaved most nobly throughout."[75]

On Thursday, May 1, transports loaded with Federal troops under the command of General Benjamin F. Butler arrived before the city. The Twenty-first Indiana landed at Algiers where the regiment seized the terminal and all the rolling stock of the New Orleans and Opelousas Railroad. About seven o'clock in the evening the remainder of the troops—the Thirtieth and Thirty-first Massachusetts, Fourth Wisconsin, Sixth Michigan and the Ninth and Twelfth Connecticut, supported by three artillery units and two companies of cavalry—disembarked. With a band playing, the troops formed on the levee and marched down Poydras, St. Charles, and Canal streets. They were posted and quartered at the Custom-house, the City Hall, the Mint, and in Lafayette Square.[76] Although the demeanor of the crowd as a whole was mild, the people surged along the pavement seeking a glimpse of General Butler and crying out, "Where is the d--d rascal? Go home d--d

[74] David G. Farragut to John T. Monroe, April 30, 1862, printed in Charles B. Boynton, *The History of the Navy During the Civil War* (2 vols., New York, 1868), II, 196.

[75] Thomas K. Wharton, Diary, April 30, 1862 (Microfilm, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

[76] Major-General Benjamin F. Butler to the Secretary of War, May 8, 1862, *O.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VI, 506-508; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 2, 1862.

Yankees. I see the d--d old villain."[77] Referring to the reception received by the troops, a Union soldier reported that the only smile that greeted them was on the iron features of the Henry Clay Monument.[78] Having posted his troops, Butler seized the St. Charles Hotel as his headquarters and installed a company of the Thirty-first Massachusetts as the headquarters guard.[79]

The evening of May 1, was quiet, and, even though embittered crowds roamed the streets, no major incidents were reported. Brigadier-General John W. Phelps, who strolled about the city alone, reported that he was treated with civility by all to whom he had spoken.[80] However, few citizens cooperated voluntarily with the Federals. When two of Butler's staff officers went to the office of the *True Delta* to have Butler's official proclamation printed, the employees refused to print it without an order from the proprietor. The next morning, with the refusal of the proprietor to print the proclamation, Butler issued a general order suspending the operation of the *True Delta*, and a squad of soldiers took over the plant to print the document.[81] That same morning, May 2, some Federal officers sought to purchase maps of the Mississippi River at the bookstore of Thomas T. White on Canal Street, but White refused to sell the maps. A short time later the officers returned with re-enforcements only to find that the maps had been burned.[82]

While the troops were solidifying their hold on the city, Butler requested that Mayor Monroe, General Juge and other city officials meet with him at the St. Charles Hotel. At two

77 James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans*, 281.

78 George G. Smith, *Leaves From A Soldiers Diary* (Putnam, Conn., 1906), 21

79 Benjamin F. Butler, *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences of Major-General Benjamin F. Butler; Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), 374. (Hereafter cited as *Butler's Book).*

80 Elizabeth Joan Doyle, "Civilian Life in Occupied New Orleans, 1862-1865 (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1955), 4.

81 *Butler's Book*, 377.

82 Diary, May 3, 1862, *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXIII (1895), 187-188.

o'clock on the afternoon of May 2, the conference was held in the heavily guarded headquarters. Butler read his proclamation to the city officials, requested their cooperation, and stated that he would not interfere with the operation of the city government or the policing of the city except for the few areas covered in the proclamation.[83] Though the proclamation was firm, it was not unduly harsh, but for the people of New Orleans it served as the official notice that they were now living under military occupation.

The capture and occupation of New Orleans gave the North cause for celebration. The *New York Times* stated, "The seizure of this, the greatest city of the Jeff. Davis Confederacy, will be a terrible disheartenment for the rebels, and is in itself almost the equivalent to a defeat of Beauregard's army at Corinth." The same issue reported that the city of Washington "is wild with rejoicing" over the fall of New Orleans.[84] But in contrast to the happiness in the North, the South was crestfallen. In Virginia a Norfolk newspaper had this to say, "It is by far the most serious reverse of the war. It suggests future privation to all classes of society, but most lamented of all, it threatens our army supplies."[85]

Though deeply shocked, some Louisianans were outspoken in their criticism of the inadequate defense of the city. Julia Legrand wrote:

> In the first place, Lovell, a most worthless creature, was sent here by Davis to superintend the defense of the city. He did little or nothing and the little he did was all wrong. Behold what has now come to the city! Never can I forget the day that alarm bell rang. I never felt so hopeless and forsaken. The wretched generals, left here with our troops, ran away and left them. Lovell knew not what to do; some say he was intoxicated, some say frightened.[86]

[83] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 3, 1862; *Butler's Book*, 374-377.

[84] *New York Times*, April 28, 1862.

[85] Norfolk *Day Book*, quoted by New York *Daily Tribune*, May 1, 1862.

[86] Kate Mason Rowland and Mrs. Morris L. Croxall, *The Journal of Julia Legrand, New Orleans 1862-63*, May 9, 1862 (Richmond, Virginia, 1911), 39.

A more thoughtful, and probably a more accurate, criticism is given by Ed. G. Randolph of Bossier Parish who stated:

> You will know that I am not disposed to rashly critize or censure the acts of our leaders—because we cannot always know or be informed of the facts or true situation but it does seem to me that there was a screw loose somewhere. We should have had one of our very best soldiers commanding at a port of so much importance as that of New Orleans and vicinity. New Orleans was of first importance and ought to have been held at all hazards it would have been better far better to have given up Charleston, Savanah and also Mobile. Concentrating the forces and munitions for the safety of New Orleans. But Alas why talk of it now. Surely there must have been teachery somewhere.[87]

In an effort to clear himself of any blame for the fall of New Orleans, General Lovell demanded and Jefferson Davis ordered a military court of inquiry. The Confederate Navy conducted a similar effort to place the responsibility for the debacle, but neither investigation brought forth any conclusive answers to a question still in debate. Regardless of where the responsibility lay for the fall of the city, the conquest of New Orleans marked a major milestone in the Union's plan to gain control of the Mississippi River, but for her inhabitants the tragic days, April 24 to May 2, 1862, had inaugurated an era of despondency and heartache never to be forgotten.

[87] Ed. G. Randolph to Captain David F. Boyd, June 1, 1862, David Boyd and Family Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana).

The Lafourche District in 1862: Confederate Revival

By BARNES F. LATHROP

Professor of History,
the University of Texas.

FEDERAL CAPTURE OF New Orleans in the spring of 1862 imperiled the Confederate hold upon the sugar parishes of southern Louisiana. One area immediately affected was the district southwest of the Mississippi River centering around Bayou Lafourche and containing the three parishes of Assumption, Lafourche, and Terrebonne. During May, 1862, Federal troops freely entered both Lafourche and Terrebonne by means of New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, an eighty-mile line commencing at Algiers opposite New Orleans, coming into the Lafourche district at Bayou des Allemands, running across it to Brashear City on the Atchafalaya. The Federal incursions encountered scarcely a hint of resistance. This passivity prevailed partly because the Lafourche district, a black-belt area of large plantations set amidst a sturdy Creole population, had opposed secession and tended to lag in war spirit; partly because the sudden fall of New Orleans had stunned the people and drawn off the small Confederate garrisons; and partly because a purely local resistance seemed likely not only to fail but also to provoke brutal retaliation from the Federal commander at New Orleans, Major-General Benjamin F. Butler.

By June, 1862, the Louisiana state government, in exile at Opelousas, managed to send into the Lafourche small forces from Bayou Teche on temporary missions intended both to stop enemy forays and to rally the militia to the defense of the district. Blocking the railroad and inducing the Federals

to draw back to Des Allemands proved easy; but the militia in much of the Lafourche district and in the adjoining River parishes deemed themselves still in no position to come out for active service. Hoping to restore their confidence in the Confederate cause, Governor Thomas O. Moore then ordered into the area a company of partisan rangers under Captain James A. McWaters to be followed by a second company under Captain S. D. Ashe. McWaters, the senior captain, was instructed to suppress disloyalty and to break up traffic with New Orleans; he was also expected to harass the enemy as opportunity offered. His orders did not subordinate him to Brigadier-General R. C. Martin of Albemarle Plantation, Assumption Parish, within whose Fifth Militia Brigade he would operate.

Soon after his arrival within Martin's command McWaters commenced the dangerous sport of shooting at Federal vessels as they passed up and down the Mississippi River. The site of the firing was Donaldsonville, parish seat of Ascension Parish, located in the fork where Bayou Lafourche left the River. On July 22, 1862, the Federals threatened to shell the town in reprisal.[1] Four days later the mayor of Donaldsonville asked McWaters to desist from firing upon the vessels. McWaters agreed to stop the attacks pending word from headquarters "and should notify him the conclusion of the Govr . . ."[2] Governor Moore was in Thibodaux July 30 and requested a conference with Martin next day.[3] McWaters also must have seen Moore, and Moore must have overruled the objections—which Martin undoubtedly s h a r e d—to further artillery sniping at Federal river boats. Welman F. Pugh, aged fifteen, son of Colonel W. W. Pugh of Woodlawn Plantation, recorded August 2 that he, his younger brother, and a

[1]W. F. Pugh "Journal," 16, July 22, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers (Archives Collection, The Library of the University of Texas). (Hereinafter cited as "Journal".)

[2]Captain J. A. McWaters to Brigadier-General R. C. Martin, July 27, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers (in private possession).

[3]M. Grivot, Adjutant and Inspector General, Louisiana Militia, Thibodaux, Louisiana, to Martin, July 30, 1862, Martin Papers.

friend "went to Donaldson had a grand time." Welman sold a pig for $5 silver, and the town "was threatened to be shelled by the Yankees."[4] The threat Welman reported may have been a terse message from Flag-Officer D. G. Farragut "To the People of Donaldsonville": "Every time my boats are fired upon I will burn a portion of your town."[5] Despite the repeated warnings, Federal transports were fired upon August 6 and 7. Farragut's patience was out. Having given notice for the evacuation of women and children, he ordered August 9 a bombardment of the town and the landing of a party that burned down, according to his report, "the hotels and wharf buildings" in Donaldsonville and the buildings on an adjacent sugar plantation. Other descriptions indicated that the damage was much heavier than Farragut made it sound.[6]

[4]"Journal," 17

[5]U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols. in 128, Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XV, 796; (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records*); U. S. Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols. and index, Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. I, Vol. XIX, 143. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records . . . Navies.*)

[6]New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* August 12, 1862, quoting New Orleans *Delta,* August 11; *Official Records...Navies,* Ser. I, Vol. XIX, 140-141, 707, 719, 721. A local committee said August 11 that "the most valuable portion of the town" had been consumed. *Ibid.,* 142; *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XV, 795. Alexander Franklin Pugh, who was not an eyewitness, living on Bayou Lafourche nineteen miles below Donaldsonville, noted the burning of "a part" of the town. Alexander Franklin Pugh, Diary, August 9, 1862 (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University). Captain John W. De Forest, Twelfth Connecticut Volunteers, who was at Donaldsonville in October, 1862, described the place as "in ruins, shattered by shells and half burned." "The First Time Under Fire," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* XXIX (September, 1864), 476. Additional evidence concerning the extent of the destruction, mainly from other Federal soldiers, is abundant but as a rule extremely vague. Compare the personal narratives or regimental histories by Harris H. Beecher (1866), Orton S. Clark (1868), Henry and James Hall (1873), George H. Hepworth (1864), Henry T. Johns (1864), Albert O. Marshall (1863), John F. Moors (1893), Elias P. Pellet (1866), Albert Plummer (1907), George Gilbert Smith (1906), Homer B. Sprague (1867), and Lawrence Van Alstyne (1910). The damage came to be much exaggerated. See, for example, the quotation from a Massachusetts newspaper in Jefferson Davis Bragg, *Louisiana in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, [c. 1941]), 159, and the account in Sidney A. Marchand, *The Story of Ascension Parish* (Donaldsonville, [c. 1931]), 63, based upon the reminiscences of an eyewitness. General Butler expressed his regret for and endeavored to make good the indirect loss that the bombardment

The partial destruction of Donaldsonville was a precise fulfillment of what the people of the River and the upper Bayou had expected to follow upon pinprick annoyances to the Yankees. It produced an excitement compounded of suffering, fear, hatred of the enemy, and indignation at the futile sacrifice required by Moore's policy. Welman F. Pugh's "Journal" for the day of the bombardment stated enigmatically that he "Rode 50 miles on horseback at night." Welman's mother, Josephine Nicholls Pugh, daughter of a leading Donaldsonville family, sheltered her aunt and perhaps other refugees at Woodlawn Plantation. A meeting of citizens of Ascension and St. James, August 11, 1862, resolved to send a committee to Governor Moore to induce him to stop the molestation of enemy boats. The recorded participants in the meeting were among the most prominent citizens in the two parishes, e. g., A. B. Roman, former governor, Trasimond Landry, former lieutenant-governor and colonel of the Ascension militia, J. Aristide Landry, former congressman, A. Duffel, associate justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court, and J. K. Gaudet, colonel of the St. James militia. They argued that the attacks could produce no benefits to the Confederate cause that "would justify the jeopardizing the lives and the total destruction of the property of our own people and the demoralizing of our servile population, a result which they consider inevitable if that course be persisted in."[7]

Josephine Pugh, mistress of Woodlawn, was moved to write against Yankee behavior an impassioned protest intended for the Northern press.[8] She admitted that the people of Donaldsonville had not "discountenanced" firing upon the Federal

inflicted upon a female asylum conducted by the Sisters of Charity. *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War* (5 vols., [Norwood, Mass.], 1917), II, 213-215. (Hereinafter cited as *Butler Correspondence*).

[7]*Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XV, 795-796.

[8]Foolscap manuscript of five and one-half pages in Mrs. Pugh's hand, entitled "Vandalism—Aged Sister of R. Drake," addressed to "my Northern Readers." There are two copies, one a draft and one relatively clean, in W. W. Pugh Papers. "Vandalism" was probably written during the war but some little time after the bombardment.

vessels. They were, she said, "interested Spectators," but not "abettors of the act." After the bombardment and burning

> doors were thrown wide to admit all comers, every possible provision made for accommodation: all efforts barely sufficed; each tenement however old was crowded; different families were huddled together, others broken & scattered to suit the convenience of hosts— One large family, composed almost entirely of females, reared with all the comforts, & many of the elegancies of life, were constrained to take refuge in a flat-boat . . . . In the flight of Negroes that took place on the arrival of the Federals their Slaves had also escaped. They, never having been accustomed to menial work were in great distress. One of the young ladies, resolved to lay aside her pride & make an appeal to the Federal Officer. She represented to him that her Father was an old man, with a numerous family, all daughters, none able to assist him: that he had purchased these slaves with the hard-earned wages of industry, & besought that *one* at least might be returned to cook & perform the labour for which their previous habits had unfitted them. Looking her insolently in the face, he inquired her age & jeeringly replied 'You are now old enough to begin to work for yourself' . . . At the very time we are taunted with dependence upon domestics, which the practice of our lives has made natural, . . . [these officers] appropriate our servants (whom we have at least paid for) to their own use . . . Surely an officer could as well dispense with his groom or valet as a feeble woman with her laundress or maid of all work.

The principal theme of Mrs. Pugh's protest was the treatment accorded her aunt, Miss M. A. Drake, only surviving sister of Joseph Rodman Drake. Miss Drake, a woman of seventy, born in New York, had remained loyal to her native state.[9] "In the bitterness of her feelings [at secession], she called herself a foreigner, an exile amongst us, *here!* where existed her nearest & dearest ties: she looked upon the Confederate Flag with abhorrence—" What reward her loyalty received! All of the houses adjacent to hers were burned, though

[9]Miss Drake's age is elusive: seventy in 1862 according to Mrs. Pugh, fifty in 1850 and sixty-four in 1860 according to the manuscript returns of the United States Censuses.

hers escaped, and she was forced to take refuge at Woodlawn. When she returned home she found her sacked house occupied by Negroes, with the corpse of a Negro man in the attic. The provost-marshal demanded, before he would clear her house, that she take the oath of allegiance. Even Miss Drake's loyalty could not bear all this. Her love for the Union was dead. "Can you marvel at her change of feeling? Could affection survive such trials?" How were Northern admirers of Drake able to wax indignant over the "imaginary insult" offered by a Southern woman in New Orleans to the funeral of Drake's grandson, young Lieutenant George DeKay, while Drake's own sister was treated thus?[10]

The bombardment of Donaldsonville was followed at once by drastic action on the part of Brigadier-General Martin, Fifth Brigade Louisiana Militia, against the partisan commander, Captain McWaters. Only five days before, McWaters had written Martin a respectful letter giving items of current news and asking for "a *safe* man" to go within the Federal lines to purchase ammunition at New Orleans. McWaters might be obliged, he said, "to press a few horses" on the River, but he would "give parties orders on the Government for pay & will as I have done avoid any thing of the kind whenever possible."[11] Here, perhaps, was a hint that McWaters and Martin differed over impressment. Almost certainly Martin had disapproved the provocative firing upon Federal vessels and resented the presence within the limits of his brigade of a mission not under his control. Whatever his exact feelings, he issued the day after Farragut's retaliation against Donaldsonville a general order declaring that the coming into his command of partisan corps "under special orders to act inde-

[10]Mrs. Philip Phillips, wife of a former United States Congressman from Alabama, was sent to Ship Island by General Butler for allegedly "laughing and mocking" from the balcony of her house at the passing funeral procession of DeKay. *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XV, 510-511; James Parton, *General Butler in New Orleans* ... (4th ed., New York, 1864), 438-442; Howard Palmer Johnson, "New Orleans under General Butler," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* XXIV (April, 1941), 493-494.

[11] McWaters to Martin or Colonel W. W. Pugh, August 5, 1862, Martin Papers.

pendently" was "alike illegal, irregular, and derogatory" to him and to the officers of his brigade, and would "no longer be tolerated." Partisan commanders already present must show their orders and act thereafter only in obedience to Martin. Militia provost-marshals would procure the arrest of all persons, whether military or civilian, who impressed livestock, provisions, or "plantation outfits" without Martin's written authorization.[12]

On the next day McWaters acknowledged receipt of Martin's orders. He understood that the force of Martin's brigade would be employed to resist any further attempt of his to execute the orders of Governor Moore. To avoid "bloodshed and ill feeling" between his command and the inhabitants of Martin's district, and "any appearance of causing strife and bitterness . . . among our own people," he agreed to Martin's requirements and reported himself accordingly.[13]

Before news of Martin's general order against McWaters reached Opelousas, Governor Moore had instructed Martin to place the militia of his brigade in active service, having them report "with such arms as they may possess" to Colonel Thomas E. Vick, commander of the militia camp in Lafourche Parish.[14] This order, wrote the Adjutant General, was

[12]General Order No. 8 (Martin by R. C. Martin, Jr., A.D.C.), Headquarters Fifth Brigade Louisiana Militia, August 10, 1862, printed copy in Martin Papers. The Martin Papers contain also two copies each of special orders by Martin directing the arrest of McWaters and of Ashe. They are all dated August 11, 1862, but are not numbered and were evidently never issued.

[13]McWaters and Ashe (written by McWaters), Napoleonville, Louisiana, to Martin, August 11, 1862, Martin Papers. McWaters enclosed copies of his orders and instructions (in all six documents) and Ashe's as well (four documents).

[14]Special Orders No. 200 (Major-General John L. Lewis, commanding Louisiana Militia, by G. W. Lewis, A.D.C., to Martin), Headquarters Louisiana Troops, Major-General's Office, Opelousas, Louisiana, August 12, 1862, embodying Orders No. 811 (Moore by M. Grivot, Adjutant and Inspector General), Headquarters Louisiana Militia, Adjutant General's Office, Opelousas, Louisiana, August 12, 1862; No. 200 only is in Martin Papers. The parishes named in order were Assumption, Ascension, St. James, St. John the Baptist, and St. Charles. The militia of Lafourche Parish had already been called out. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 767.

> to be carried out as secretly & as silently as possible – The object, is to effect an attack upon the enemy [post at the railroad station] on the Bayou des Allemands and drive him from his Position, which can be carried out fully– The Governor directs me to say that he expects you to put it in force immediately[.][15]

Martin complied by issuing to his regimental commanders a special order dated August 15, 1862. This drew from Colonel J. K. Gaudet of St. James a reassertion of the position he had taken in response to an earlier attempt to call out the militia.[16]

> I deem any move of this kind as *utterly impracticable in the Parishes bordering on the Mississippi River.* The secret cannot be kept, and as soon as intelligence of it will reach the City, the ennemy [*sic*] will take effectual measures to prevent it.

Even the organization must be attended to with "the greatest secrecy," and secrecy was a vain hope. Under existing circumstances "*our militia cannot possibly be placed in active service.*"[17]

Martin's order against McWaters had meanwhile reached Opelousas, where it produced the effect that Martin must have foreseen. Moore declared it

> revoked, as being highly disrespectful to the Governor and commander-in-chief, unwarranted, unnecessary, and in contravention to military rule and discipline and to orders before issued from these headquarters, of which Brigadier-General Martin has been informed.

Martin was ordered under arrest "to await a trial by court martial."[18] He promptly asked for a court of inquiry into

[15]Grivot, Opelousas to Martin, August 12, 1862, Martin Papers.

[16]See Barnes F. Lathrop, "The Lafourche District in 1862: Militia and Partisan Rangers," *Louisiana History*, I, (Summer, 1960), 234-235.

[17]Gaudet to Martin, August 18, 1862, Martin Papers.

[18]Orders No. 812 (Moore), August 14, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 798.

his whole conduct as brigadier. This request was denied on the ground that he had been arrested not for failure to carry out "the duties assigned you, by the several orders for the calling out of the Militia of your Brigade," but solely because his General Order No. 8 was "derogatory and disrepectful" to the Governor's authority. Not until mid-October was Martin able to announce his relief from arrest and resumption of command.[19]

On the day that Martin was ordered under arrest the commander of the Louisiana militia, Major-General John L. Lewis (b. 1800), was directed to proceed to Thibodaux, to "take charge of the defenses of the Fifth and Ninth Brigades," and to "cause all the Militia in the Fifth Brigade to be placed in actual service and sent to Camp Martin" in Lafourche Parish.[20] Lewis duly established himself at Thibodaux, whence he issued a rhetorical exhortation to "every man within the 5th Brigade, able to bear arms," whether subject to militia duty or not, to prepare "to defend to the very last their liberties, their families and their homes."[21] The militia of Lafourche and Terrebonne Parishes had apparently been in camp for several weeks before Lewis's arrival. The militia of the River parishes were in no position to make any considerable response. The Assumption militia went into camp August 20, 1862.[22]

During the summer and autumn of 1862 the pinch of war on daily life began to be strongly felt. Separation from New Orleans increased deprivations which blockade and severance from the North had commenced. The presence of troops along the Bayou, even in modest numbers, and the calling out of

[19]Martin, Brigadier-General under arrest, Albermarle, Louisiana, to Major-General Lewis, August 16, 17, 1862; Grivot, Opelousas to Martin, August 23, 1862; unnumbered order by Martin as Brigadier-General Commanding, Headquarters Fifth Brigade Louisiana Militia, Albermarle, October 14, 1862. All four documents are in Martin Papers; the letters to Lewis are retained copies.

[20]Orders No. 814 (Moore), August 14, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 798-799.

[21]General Orders No. 182(?), August 18(?), printed copy in Martin Papers; the heading is scarcely legible.

[22]"Journal", 17, August 20, 1862; A. F. Pugh, Diary, August 20, 1862, ff.

the militia, undoubtedly tended to accentuate the problem of supplies.[23] At an auction in Napoleonville early in August salt fetched $10 a bushel, flour and pork $50 to $60 a barrel.[24] Planters were very actively engaged in buying beef to substitute for pork.[25] In one transaction Colonel W. W. Pugh acquired thirty-five head of cattle in exchange for sugar at four and one-half cents per pound; in another, he entrusted an agent with $1,200 "to invest in beeves for him in Attacapas."[26] Some wants could not be met—Franklin Pugh late in August smoked his last cigar.[27] Money was "getting scarce as every thing else."[28] Planting in early spring had been with an eye to subsistence crops, but the season proved unfavorable. The corn crop on Boatner Plantation was light, not exceeding that of 1861.[29] Record high water brought crevasses on River and Bayou with some damage to large plantations.[30] For the planter class there was nothing approaching downright privation of the necessities of life; indeed, even the darker days ahead did not bring that. But the few hints that survived indicated a grimmer picture among those not well-to-do. In May "a number of the inhabitants" of Houma were reported in a poor

[23]Bits of evidence to this effect appear in the Martin Papers and also in A. F. Pugh Papers (Archives Collection, The Library of the University of Texas).

[24]A. F. Pugh, Diary, August 4, 1862. Pugh neglected to give measures, but bushel and barrel were clearly meant. (Hereinafter cited as Diary).

[25]Diary, July 1, 2, 28, August 17-19, 1862; W. H. Kinkman to H. J. Boatner & Co., receipt, July 28, 1862, A. F. Pugh Papers.

[26]Pugh and S. Sandford, contract, July 10, 1862, with endorsement, August 1, 1862, of delivery of thirty-one hogsheads of sugar weighing 37,709 pounds; Joseph A. Aucoin to Pugh, receipt, August 1, 1862. Both documents are in W. W. Pugh Papers.

[27]Diary, August 25, 1862.

[28]Diary, August 14, 1862, on the occasion of borrowing $100 for his brother John, who was in military service, from F. Rodrigue, storekeeper. Franklin had borrowed July 27, 1862, probably to buy beeves for Boatner Plantation, $500 from his neighbor Wilson Grisamore, brickmason and planter. He borrowed September 4, 1862, for W. H. Pugh & Company from F. Varaldi & Company, storekeepers, $1,100 in Confederate notes, giving a promissory note payable in the same paper March 1, 1863, with 8% interest.

[29]Diary, September 4, October 13, 1862.

[30]A. F. Pugh's diary March 26, June 20, 1862, was very largely taken up with high water, which produced at least four major crevasses on the Bayou.

and suffering condition,"[31] and in the same month W. W. Pugh donated twelve barrels of molasses to "the poor and needy" of Donaldsonville.[32] In June the backwaters from the Mississippi flooded most of the brulées west of the Bayou in Assumption Parish, and in July, according to W. W. Pugh, the families of three-fifths of the militiamen of the parish were "in a destitute condition."[33] The police jury of Assumption on September 3, 1862, approved the printing of parish scrip up to $15,000 for the relief of want "in consequence of the late overflow and the action of the conscript law.[34]

One of the gravest results of the proximity of Federal forces was a wave of unrest among the Negroes. It came with apparent suddenness early in July. On July 7 Welman F. Pugh "Went out to catch some negroes." On July 8 Franklin Pugh recorded "a perfect stampede of the negroes on some places" in the vicinity of Boatner Plantation. July 9: "They are getting in all the runaways in the neighborhood." Welman reported July 10 that he "had vacation this week and was looking for runaways all the time."[35] The runaway wave subsided, but hints of trouble continued. According to the recollections of William Watson, a Scot who passed down the River in July, the Negroes on two plantations just below Donaldson-

[31]Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Keith to Butler, May 22, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I. Vol. XV, 455. The distress may have been partly a result of Keith's visit.

[32]W. H. Faquier, mayor of Donaldsonville, to Pugh, May 7, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers.

[33]Lathrop, "The Lafourche District in 1862: Militia and Partisan Rangers," *Louisiana History*, I (Summer, 1960), 235.

[34]*Le Pionier de l'Assomption*, October 1, 1862, A. F. Pugh Papers. The parish of Terrebonne issued bonds "to provide for the care of families of those who went to war." Historical Records Survey, Louisiana, *Inventory of the Parish Archives of Louisiana, No. 55* Terrebonne Parish (Houma), (University, Louisiana, May, 1941), 47.

[35]"Journal", 16, July 7, 10, 1862; Diary, July 8-9, 1862. The only runaway from Boatner Plantation mentioned in Franklin Pugh's diary was brought back the next day. That there may have been others appears from a receipt to H. J. Boatner & Company, August 4, 1862, for $100 paid for arresting Jerry and a mule. A. F. Pugh Papers. A runaway who escaped was later noticed in Ellen Boatner (Mrs. A. F.) Pugh, Assumption, Louisiana, to husband, February 2, 1863, A. F. Pugh Papers.

ville revolted at that time, refusing to work. A detachment of Federal troops placed the ringleaders in stocks and sent the others to the fields with admonitions against trying "to stir up any revolt or disobedience to their masters."[36] Early the next month Captain McWaters learned that Colonel S. Landry "had seven Negroes shot yesterday by the Neighbors[.] Col[.] L. himself credits the report . . ."[37] At the time of the bombardment of Donaldsonville a Confederate officer across the River heard news of "an insurrection among the negroes in Ascension Parish, and the killing of 40 or 50 of them."[38] These rumors of insurrection and killing lacked confirmation (unless they confirmed one another), but a substantial exodus of Negroes from River plantations and perhaps from the Lafourche district was clearly evidenced by their congregation within the Federal lines. According to a historian of the Eighth Vermont Volunteers, contrabands poured in "till the number in camp to whom the quartermaster of the Eighth issued rations at Algiers, was reported at 5,000."[39]

In the second half of August the military situation along Lafourche took a turn for the better. By August 20 Major-General Lewis, commanding Louisiana Militia, had established headquarters at Thibodaux, and the militia of the district were in active service. About the same time the Thirteenth Texas Cavalry Battalion, composed of mounted riflemen under Major Ed. Waller, arrived on the scene.[40] What was most important, Major-General Richard Taylor, commander of the Confederacy's newly created District of Western Louisiana, reached Thibodaux on or before August 31, 1862.[41] As a citizen of St. Charles Parish—his Fashion Plantation lay on the

[36] *Life in the Confederate Army . . .* (London, 1887), 397-398, 424.

[37] McWaters to Martin or W. W. Pugh, August 5, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers.

[38] *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XV, 1124.

[39] G. G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War . . .* (2 vols., Burlington, 1886-1888), II, 106.

[40] No less than three letters by Bayou residents (all planters wives) mention Texas troops on Lafourche before the coming of Waller, but stronger evidence goes to show in each case that the troops alluded to were actually Louisianaians.

[41] "Journal", 17, August 31, 1862: "Went to Thib on important business To see gen Dick Taylor."

west bank of the River a few miles above the Opelousas Railroad—Taylor was well acquainted with the Lafourche region and well known therein. Much was expected of him. Even the hypercritical Braxton Bragg, then beginning his Kentucky campaign, said that Taylor was 'the *right man* in the *right place*, for if any body *could* do any thing in *La. he would*, as he had great energy & intelligence.'[42]

Taylor came with plans to carry the action to the enemy by clearing the Opelousas Railroad at least as far as the River.[43] Whether independently or at Taylor's instigation, Governor Moore had already ordered the militia to prepare for such an operation.[44] The Federal outpost along the railroad was Des Allemands, on the Bayou of that name. Taylor had reason to believe it the center of marauding expeditions from which his own estate and many others had suffered.[45] To capture the post it must be taken from the rear, i. e., the River side. A march from Thibodaux to the railroad east of Des Allemands by regular roads would mean going thirty-three miles up the Bayou to Donaldsonville and nearly sixty miles down the River to Boutte Station. To avoid both the excessive distance and the danger of being observed on the River leg, the Con-

[42]Remark by Bragg to R. L. Pugh, private in the Fifth Company Washington Artillery at Munfordville, Kentucky, about September 18, 1862, quoted in R. L. Pugh, camp near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, to Mary Williams Pugh (his wife), December 16, 1862, R. L. Pugh Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University).

[43]Taylor, Opelousas, to Brigadier-General Daniel Ruggles, Port Hudson, Louisiana, August 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 802. Talk ran even to a Confederate recapture of New Orleans. *Ibid.*, 806-807, 810, 817; Caroline Guion (Mrs. Francis T.) Nicholls, near Lynchburg, Virginia, to Josephine Nicholls Pugh, Woodlawn Plantation, Louisiana, September 6, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers.

[44]Moore's instructions to Martin, August 12, 1862, above p. 307. It is possible, though not certain from available evidence, that Taylor conferred with Moore on or before the date of the instructions.

[45]Concerning plundering in this vicinity see Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction: Personal Experiences of the Late War* (New York, 1879), 111-112; Taylor to Butler, September 8, 1862, Taylor to Butler, September 10, 1862, and General Orders No. 74 (Butler), September 19, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 565-567, 573-574, and *Butler Correspondence*, II, 265-269, 315; *DeBow's Review*, XXXIII (November, 1866), 538; and Andrew M. Sherman, *In the Lowlands of Louisiana in 1863 . . .* ([Morristown, New Jersey, 1908?]), 30.

federates worked their way along a swamp route via the Vacherie Settlement and reached the River some thirty miles above the railroad. Aided by enemy mishaps, they soon succeeded both in ambushing a train at Boutte Station and in capturing Des Allemands. Federal casualties on September 4-5 amounted to nine killed, twenty-seven wounded (five mortally), and 155 missing; and the Federal outpost on the west side of the River was drawn back to Company Canal, only ten miles above Algiers.[46] Suffering little or no loss themselves, the Confederates captured, besides the prisoners, a twelve-pound howitzer, two Ellsworth machine guns, and a welcome supply of arms and accoutrements. "This trifling success," as Taylor called it, "the first in the State since the loss of New Orleans," provided a much needed tonic to the spirit of the people.[47]

The capture of the Des Allemands post was not an unmixed blessing, for it raised yet another painful conflict between loyalty to the Confederate cause and fear of Federal retaliation. Among the prisoners captured were seven Germans, former residents and militiamen of Lafourche Parish who had fled to New Orleans and enlisted in the Eighth Vermont Regiment. Technically they were deserters. No doubt more

[46]*Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 133-135, for the Federal reports; Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, II, 97-104; George N. Carpenter, *History of the Eight Regiment Vermont Volunteers . . .* (Boston, 1886), 53-57; George C. Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings* (Indianapolis, 1882), 177, 311, 323.

[47]Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, 111. According to Taylor, the capture of Des Allemands was effected under his instructions by Waller's Texas Battalion; according to George B. N. Wailes, then colonel of the St. Charles militia, it was the work of volunteers from St. Charles and St. John the Baptist under his command, the Lafourche regiment under Colonel T. E. Vick, the Terrebonne regiment under Colonel J. R. Bisland, and partisan rangers under Captains Ashe and McWaters, with Brigadier-General J. G. Pratt, Ninth Brigade Louisiana Militia, in command. Waile's circumstantial narrative, in the form of a letter to Captain Alex Hebert dated April 30, 1894, and first published in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, is reprinted in George R. Norris, "The Battle of Des Allemands," *Confederate Veteran*, XXXIV (January, 1926), 15-16. The Federal accounts cited in the preceding note, together with one from New Orleans *Delta*, November 15, 1862, quoted in *Daily Picayune*, November 16, lend some slight support to both sides. In the absence of contemporary Confederate reports the evidence hardly warrants a verdict either way.

serious was the charge that one and perhaps all had delivered into Federal hands a Confederate lieutenant, and had acted as spies and guides for "marauding excursions upon the Vacherie." Such offenses were not to be condoned. Yet who could doubt that Butler, busily enlisting Louisianians in his army, would be furious at the punishment of these men? Major-General Lewis ordered a court-martial composed of twelve officers (fourteen if the judge-advocate and provost-marshal be counted) of the Lafourche and Terrebonne militia regiments to convene September 22, 1862, to try the seven. Convicted by the court, they were executed a month later at Bayou des Allemands on the eve of a Federal campaign for the conquest of the Lafourche district.[48]

Nearly two years after the event a Federal officer investigated the details of the trial and execution. His report probably did not misrepresent, except in degree the apprehension with which the court and the executioners acted. The court opened with nine members, but two who opposed the court-martialing "managed not to be present at the last part nor to vote."

> The shooting party consisted of eighty-four men, some of which were detailed, and some were hired at $50 apiece as substitutes. . . . Another class were drafted, and as the testimony of eye-witnesses show[s], were compelled to take part in the execution from fear of great bodily harm.

The reluctance of participants proved to be only too well grounded. Of the ninety-eight men involved in the trial and execution, only five could be found in the Lafourche district in August, 1864. Two of these had already suffered

[48]*Official Records,* Ser. II, Vol. IV, 709-710; Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War,* II, 104-106; Carpenter, *Eight Vermont,* 63-66. Butler withheld from exchange fourteen Confederate prisoners (headed by a brigadier-general) whom he proposed to shoot, if the General-in-Chief would so instruct him, in retaliation for the Bayou des Allemands execution. Butler to Lieutenant-General J. C. Pemberton, November 13, 1862, and to Major-General H. W. Halleck, November 14, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. II, Vol. IV, 708-709, or *Butler Correspondence,* II, 472-474. Butler's successor let the matter drop.

imprisonment, and all five still had murder charges hanging over their heads.[49]

The Confederate success at Des Allemands was almost counterbalanced by a prompt Federal stroke against Waller's Texas Battalion. The danger to Waller in operations along the River was "that the enemy might, from transports, throw forces ashore above and below him, at points where the swamps in the rear were impassable."[50] His presence in the neighborhood of St. Charles Court-House became known on September 7 to Colonel James W. McMillan, one of Butler's ablest officers. Next day McMillan landed two regiments in the vicinity of the Court-House and two about five miles above, catching Waller's men between. The Confederates, forced to take to the swamps as best they could, escaped with moderate casualties, but they lost upwards of 250 horses and quantities of equipment.[51]

Hard upon the shattering of Waller's Battalion came two more or less disturbing episodes in the vicinity of Donaldsonville. Ascension Parish and the upper part of Assumption contained a considerable Spanish element which was, in certain places at least, quite distinct from the rest of the population. On September 10 "an infernal Spaniard in ambush" killed B. S. Tappan, a member of the Louisiana secession convention who had just become captain of a cavalry company.[52] This event led, probably, to punitive action against the disaffected Spaniards. The other episode was the landing at Donaldsonville on September 11 of a Federal force apparently engaged in an armed trading venture of the sort that laid

[49]Brigadier-General R. A. Cameron to Major George D. Drake, A.A.G., August 29, 1864, *Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XLI, pt. II, 917-918.

[50]Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction,* 112. Taylor implies that he had left the Lafourche district before misfortune befell Waller, but a letter in *Butler Correspondence,* II, 265, shows him still at Thibodaux September 8.

[51]*Official Records,* Ser. I, Vol. XV, 135-138, for the Federal reports; Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings,* 311-315; Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War,* II, 104; Wailes to Hebert, April 30, 1894, Norris, "The Battle of Des Allemands," *Confederate Veteran,* XXXIV (January, 1926), 16.

[52]Diary, September 11, 1862; "Journal", 18, September 10, 1862.

Butler's integrity under suspicion.[53] The conduct of part of the troops moved the commander of the escorting gunboat to inquire whether his guns were to be used.

> in the protection of drunken, undisciplined, and licentious troops in the wanton pillage of a private mansion of wines, plate, silk dresses, the misses and female apparel, to say nothing of the confiscation of sugar, which I believe to be without proper and lawful reason therefore.[54]

Ten days later Donaldsonville was again the debarkation point of a Federal expedition, this one composed of the Twenty-First Indiana Volunteers under Colonel McMillan. McMillan's report mentioned sugar, but his primary purpose was to try out the Confederate position on upper Bayou Lafourche. Near Charles Kock's Belle Alliance Plantation he was met by the fire of five guns, flanked by cavalry under McWaters, and forced to retire. McMillan took "one prisoner in arms and the town assessor and brought [off] a few of the citizens as refugees." His force and transportation had, he said, been "insufficient to follow on down the bayou"; and he had "learned that the Spanish refugees preferred remaining and fighting the rebels *á la mode* Seminole."[55] Franklin Pugh pronounced the affair near Belle Alliance badly managed by the Confederates, who had "probably 5 to one of the Federals," but opined that the enemy would at least "hardly be heard from again for several days."[56]

Confederate mounted troops in the Lafourche district began to be organized during September into the Second Louisiana Cavalry, Colonel W. G. Vincent.[57] McWaters's and Ashe's

[53]Cf. George Denison, New Orleans to S. P. Chase, October 10, 1862, *Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase* (American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1902, Vol. II, Washington, 1903), 321-322.

[54] *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 569. For related matter see *Official Records . . . Navies*, Ser. I, Vol. XIX, 198, 212, 245, 773-774.

[55]Report of McMillan, September 25, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 141-142; Harding, *Micellaneous Writings*, 317 ff. Harding was captured on this occasion.

[56]Diary, September 24-25, 1862.

partisan rangers were merged into the regiment, and McWaters became its lieutenant-colonel.[58] Company H, otherwise known as "Whittington's Cavalry," was raised in Assumption Parish, where conscription provided a plain stimulus to volunteering.[59]

Accessory to the increase in troops was the estblishment of a Confederate military hospital at Thibodaux.[60] Among its volunteer workers was Elise Bragg, the General's wife, who wrote on a Sunday evening about the end of September that she was quite worn out: "having been all morning at the hospital, I came home prepared rooms for sick soldiers, sent my carriage for them, but I suppose the weather was too inclement for the Doctor to let them come."[61]

Enrollment of Confederate conscripts took place in Assumption Parish on August 30, 1862.[62] No doubt nearly all the conscripts there and in the other parishes were already in camp as members of the militia regiments.[63] In time most of them apparently went for training to Camp Pratt on the Teche; by December many were heavy artillerymen manning the levee

[57]Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, 1891 (New Orleans, 1892), 35-36; service record of Vincent in Andrew B. Booth (comp.), *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands* (3 vols. in 4, New Orleans, 1920), Vol. III, bk. II, 938. Harding, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 321, speaks of Vincent as "a little, spectacled man, with a Jewish cast of countenance."

[58]Service records of J. A. McWaters, T. J. Stafford (first lieutenant of McWater's Partisan Rangers), S. A. Ashe, B. W. Bond, Lewis Hayes, and M. R. Hayes, in Booth, *Louisiana Confederate Soldiers*. McWater's company perhaps passed as a unit into the new regiment, but Ashe's seems to have disbanded and re-enlisted, its officers (except Ashe) becoming privates in other companies.

[59]Service records of B. S. Tappan, J. B. Whittington, Joseph A. Aucoin, and various Daigles, Landrys, LeBlancs, Molleres, and Simoneauxs, in *ibid.* The company enlisted September 1, two days after enrollment of conscripts in the parish.

[60]Franklin (St. Mary Parish) *Weekly Junior Register*, October 2, 1862, paraphrased in Argosy Book Stores, Catalogue 365 [issued 1953], item 246.

[61]Note to Mary Williams (Mrs. R. L.) Pugh, September 28 or October 5, 1862, R. L. Pugh Papers, covering two letters (not found) from Bragg to Mrs. Bragg. Mary Pugh's husband was in Bragg's Army. According to Mrs. Bragg the General, then in the midst of his Kentucky campaign, wrote "so *hopefully*. God grant his bright anticipations may be realized."

[62]Diary, August 30, 1862.

[63]Colonel W. W. Pugh, commanding Assumption regiment, was directed to

batteries at Vicksburg.[64] The number taken from the Lafourche district was so large—amounting, as shown in "Returns of Conscripts" reported to the Louisiana Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, to 636 from Assumption, 559 from Lafourche, and 501 from Terrebonne—that their departure must have severely depleted the militia units; surviving records did not say, however, when they were actually removed.[65] The Assumption militia, whether with or without conscripts, were still encamped September 22 and expecting to remain so; Franklin Pugh surmised in his diary that he might not be able to get home "before a month." But on September 30 Governor Moore, declaring that there was "no longer necessity for the militia," ordered them to their homes. On October 13 the order was repeated with a proviso authorizing the Confederate brigadier or Colonel in command to retain in service, at the expense of the Confederate States, any portion of the militia he might require.[66] The policy behind Moore's orders—which looked startling in retrospect because they were paralleled by Federal preparations for invasion of the Lafourche district—was that of General Taylor. As rapidly as Confederate troops became available he wished the militia disbanded "in order that the conscripts among

include in his report of the purchase and use of beeves an account of any consumed by conscripts "since Genl Taylor has taken posssesion of said Conscripts." M. Grivot, Adjutant General's Office, Opelousas, to Pugh, September 9, 1862, W. W. Pugh Papers.

[64]One hundred of 450 from Assumption were reported dead of sickness and mistreatment since their arrival in Vicksburg. R. C. Martin, Jr., Vicksburg, Mississippi, to Maggie Littlejohn Martin (his wife), December 17-18, 1862, and to General R. C. Martin, December 19, 1862, Martin Papers.

[65]Louisiana Adjutant General (M. Grivot), Annual Report, December 10, 1862, in [Napier Bartlett], *A Soldier's Story of the War Including the Marches and Battles of the Washington Artillery and of Other Louisiana Troops* (New Orleans, 1874), 256-257.

[66]Orders No. 881 and 889, issued at Alexandria, Louisiana, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 819, 826-827. The orders applied to the three parishes of the Lafourche district, to the four River parishes of the Fifth Brigade, and to the Teche parishes of St. Mary and St. Martin. A. F. Pugh recorded in his diary the disbanding of the Assumption regiment October 2, 1862.

them might be brought into the camp of instruction within the least possible delay."[67]

Command of the Lafourche district was now in the hands of a West Pointer, Brigadier-General Alfred Mouton. By late October the whole force at his diposal, independent of conscripts and local militia, amounted to two good batteries of artillery (with another forming), perhaps 1,000 infantry, partly veteran, and 350 cavalry. This aggregation was certainly not large, and it was badly organized; but with luck and good management it might be adequate for successful resistance to Federal invasion.[68]

[67]Taylor, Bayou Teche, Louisiana, to General S. Cooper, November 9, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XV, 175.

[68] *Ibid.*, 176-180; Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, 113.

Collections in the Manuscript Sections of Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University

By CONNIE G. GRIFFITH

who is Manuscript Librarian at Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University.

THE ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT of Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, is relatively new. It was established in the mid-forties, and its holdings now number some five hundred thousand pieces of manuscript material that relate chiefly to the Lower Mississippi Valley, Louisiana, and more especially, New Orleans, and date from the year 1655 to the present time.

Papers of persons prominent in the government of Louisiana, as a province, territory or state include those of Henry W. Allen, 1863-1866, (5 pieces and 1 scrapbook); Francisco Bouligny (Bouligny-Baldwin Papers), 1710-1863, (167 pieces); Baron de Carondelet, 1793-1797 (85 pieces); Marquis de Casa Calvo, 1800-1803, (10 pieces); William C. C. Claiborne, 1800-1818 (20 pieces); Bernardo de Gálvez, 1779-1781 (17 pieces); Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, 1797-1799 (10 pieces); William Pitt Kellogg, 1830-1918 (10 pieces); Pierre Clément de Laussat, 1803-1804 (19 pieces); Estevan Miró, 1779-1791 (32 pieces); George F. Shepley, 1861-1865 (49 pieces).

It was fitting that the first collection of family papers to be received in the Department was the Mrs. Mason Barret Collection of Albert Sidney and William Preston Johnston

papers, 1803-1900 (11,229 pieces), since William Preston Johnston was President of Tulane University from 1884-1899. Included are letters from General William Preston, Jefferson Davis, Sam Houston, Ashbel Smith, and Robert E. Lee.

Another important collection is that of the Favrot family, 1695-1937 (2005 pieces), which contains letters from Carlos de Grand Pré, Juan Ventura Morales, Armesto y López, José de Gálvez, Bernardo de Gálvez, Baron de Carondelet, Edward Livingston, De Lassus, Alexander McGillivray, Kerlerec, and other governors of the Spanish and French periods. Eight volumes of transcriptions of the papers were prepared by the Louisiana Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration and were published in 1941 and 1942 (Volumes I to VII and Volume IX). The work has recently been resumed in the Archives Department of Howard-Tilton Memorial Library. Volume VIII is now in press and Volume X is in preparation.

The Rosemonde E. and Emile Kuntz Collection consists of some 430 French and Spanish manuscripts dealing with the families of de Kernion, Bouligny, Dauterive, d'Auberville, Maison Rouge, de Coulanges, de Villemont, Villars, and de Grand Pré; the government of New Orleans and Louisiana; the revolution of 1768; and the Company of the Indies. The papers date from 1655 to 1878. There are also twenty items about Carrollton, 1857-1870; 250 pieces on the Civil War and Reconstruction, 1861-1874; 90 issues of newspapers, 1842-1863; and a large number of broadsides and pamphlets.

Other collections dealing with family groups include the papers of the Bartlett-Basore family (Arkansas, Louisiana), 1860-1949 (240 pieces); the Chesnier-Duchesne-Smith family (Louisiana), 1780-1892 (151 pieces); the De Clouet family (Louisiana), 1854-1858 (51 pieces); the De la Vigne family (Georgia, Louisiana) 1797-1840 (69 pieces); the Grima family (New Orleans) 1783-1931 (1,320 pieces); the Hébert-Kirkland family (West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana), 1793-1881 (113 pieces); the La Villebeuvre family (Louisiana), 1844-

1857 (101 pieces); the Peters-LeMonnier-Lastrapes family (New Orleans), 1711-1933 (700 pieces); the St. Martin family (Louisiana), 1829-1929 (374 pieces); the Wendell family (Tennessee, Louisiana), 1814-1896 (63 pieces); the Urquhart family (Scotland, Louisiana), 1506-1953 (390 pieces), and in the same collection the papers of the Álvarez-Fisk family (Mississippi, Louisiana) 1813-1890 (210 pieces); the Trist family (Louisiana), 1516-1949 (213 pieces); the Charest-DeGournay-DuBourg family (Santo Domingo, Louisiana), 1715-1952 (159 pieces); the Augustine D. Tureaud family (Louisiana), 1754-1955 (37 pieces); the Bringier family (Santo Domingo, Louisiana), 1771-1942 (501 pieces); the Brou Plantation, 1802-1921 (288 pieces); General Richard Taylor (Louisiana, Confederate Army Officer), 1850-1857 (169 pieces); and Trist Wood (Louisiana), 1869-1953 (725 pieces).

The Garnier de la Villesbret Collection which was recently acquired will be of interest to students of French history as it relates to the Cormier, Du Médic, and Garnier de la Villesbret families of Brittany, whose members participated in the French Revolution, the Crimean War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the French invasion of Mexico. The collection has about 5,000 pieces and dates from 1436 to about 1920.

Papers of individuals include those of Charles E. Alter (New Orleans; merchant), 1850-1895 (490 pieces); John James Audubon (France, Louisiana; naturalist), 1807-1827 (14 pieces); William Beer (England, New Orleans; librarian of Howard Memorial Library), 1892-1924 (4,760 pieces); Mary E. Burt (Chicago, New York; educator, author), 1898-1919 (40 pieces); George Colmer (Louisiana; physician, epidemiologist) 1841-1874 (2 diaries); William Kernan Dart (New Orleans; lawyer), 1916-1918 (213 pieces); Charles H. Dickinson (Tennessee, Louisiana; planter), 1803-1945 (70 pieces); Alexander Dimitry (Louisiana; United States Minister to Costa Rica and Nicaragua, Confederate States of America Cabinet member), 1859-1895 (19 pieces and 2 volumes); John G. Dunlap (Georgia, New Orleans; merchant), 1827-1869 (179 pieces); Minnie Maddern Fiske (New Orleans; actress), 1865-1935, (53

pieces); Marguerite M. Fortier (Louisiana; Director of Confederate Memorial Hall), 1821-1957 (969 pieces); Myra Clark Gaines (New Orleans; daughter of Daniel Clark and wife of General Edmund P. Gaines), 1834-1861 (221 pieces); James Gallier, Jr. (New Orleans; architect), 1839?-1860 (208 pieces); Marie Drivin Girard (New Orleans; teacher, writer), 1777-1902 (61 pieces); Robert Glenk (Pennsylvania, Louisiana; chemist, curator of Louisiana State Museum), 1897-1949 (2,802 pieces); Daisy M. L. Hodgson (Louisiana; U. D. C. leader), 1870-1935 (165 pieces); Ethel Hutson (New Orleans; Suffragist, artist), 1913-1920 (1,077 pieces); Joseph Finley Joor (Louisiana; botanist), 1871-1892 (103 pieces); John Klorer (New Orleans; engineer), 1924-1941 (131 pieces); Joseph Lakanal (France, Louisiana; educator, president of Collège d'Orléans, New Orleans), 1793-1795 (30 pieces); Benjamin H. Latrobe (Pennsylvania, Maryland; architect), 1807-1832 (46 pieces); W. H. McLellan (New Orleans; ship chandler), 1839-1884 (115 pieces); John McDonogh (Louisiana; merchant and philanthropist), 1802-1873 (6,950 pieces); William Newton Mercer (Mississippi, Louisiana; planter, physician, financier), 1832-1854 (362 pieces); Robert Mills (South Carolina, District of Columbia; architect), 1802-1853 (34 pieces and 4 volumes); Don A. Pardee (New Orleans; United States Judge), 1882-1885 (392 pieces); Father Antonio de Sedella (Louisiana; priest), 1798-1807 (6 volumes); Eleanor P. Thompson (New Orleans; U. D. C. leader and clubwoman), 1874-1925 (371 pieces); Paul Tulane (New Orleans, New Jersey; merchant, philanthropist), 1825-1901 (378 pieces and 3 volumes); and William G. Weeks (New Iberia; notary), 1889-1947 (28 volumes).

Papers of Louisiana planters include those of Walthall Burton (St. Landry Parish), 1806-1896 (75 pieces); Benjamin Farar (Mississippi, Louisiana; planter, Army officer), 1773-1826 (58 pieces), Ferdinand de Feriet (New Orleans), 1816-1840 (192 pieces); Prosper Foy (St. Charles Parish), 1790-1878 (196 pieces); Julien Poydras (Pointe Coupée Parish), 1792-1822 (3 pieces and 2 volumes); Samuel R. Walker (Elia

Plantation) 1856-1878 (1 journal); and Archibald P. Williams (Rapides Parish), 1824-1829 (114 pieces).

Papers of authors and artists include those of Roark Bradford (dramatist, short story writer), 1930-1949 (155 pieces); Amy H. Wales Bullock (dramatist, poet), 1889-1939 (178 pieces); George Washington Cable (Louisiana, Massachusetts; novelist), 1855-1927 (28,000 pieces); Eugene Chassaignac (Louisiana; composer), 1867-1873 (79 pieces); Mollie Moore Davis (Louisiana; novelist), 1854-1901 (61 pieces); Charles Gayarré (historian), 1857-1895 (70 pieces); Lafcadio Hearn (Ohio, Louisiana, Japan; author), 1886-1891 (70 pieces); Grace Elizabeth King (novelist, short story writer), 1917-1920 (58 pieces); Albert Caruthers Phelps (journalist, author, artist) 1885-1906 (28 pieces); Francois Dominique Rouquette (poet), 1839-1852 (5 pieces and 2 volumes); Lyle Saxon (novelist), 1929-1945 (3,298 pieces); Ruth McEnery Stuart (short story writer), 1879-1912 (90 pieces); and Mary Ashley Townsend (poet, author), 1854-1901 (72 pieces).

Of special interest to Civil War historians is the manuscript collection of the Louisiana Historical Association, which was formerly housed in the Confederate Memorial Hall. It consists of correspondence, telegrams, diaries, general and special orders, memoranda, bills and receipts, muster rolls, maps, scrapbooks, newspapers, sheet music, and photographs of the Civil War period, and correspondence, records, and scrapbooks of various Confederate veteran associations. There are also several hundred items dealing with the early history of New Orleans and with prominent families of the region. The collection numbers about 150,000 items, covering the period from 1698 to 1955 and is divided as follows: Administrative Records (3,785 pieces and 60 volumes); Civil War Documents (481 pieces and 46 volumes); Confederate Personnel (2,647 pieces); Jefferson Davis (6,206 pieces and 20 volumes); Confederate States Cavalry (154 pieces and 3 volumes); J. A. Chalaron (1,451 pieces and 6 volumes); J. B. Walton (198 pieces and 3 volumes); W. W. Hunter (658 pieces and 8 volumes); A. C. Van Benthuysen (64 pieces); Albert Sidney Johnston (2,217

pieces and 9 volumes); J. A. Harral (399 pieces and 1 volume); Joseph L. Brent (407 pieces and 6 volumes); Memorial Associations (2,610 pieces and 44 volumes); New Orleans (1,385 pieces and 10 volumes); United Confederate Veterans (3,133 pieces and 6 volumes); United Sons of Confederate Veterans (5,210 pieces and 15 volumes); Other Veteran Organizations (35 pieces); Camp Nichols (3,940 pieces and 5 volumes); Army of Tennessee (14,602 pieces and 53 volumes); Board of Pensions (470 pieces and 2 volumes); Army of Northern Virginia (9,150 pieces and 53 volumes); Washington Artillery (2,688 pieces and 25 volumes); G. W. Brent (7 pieces and 5 volumes); John T. Purves (24 pieces and 2 volumes); William H. Thomas (701 pieces and 10 volumes); Sheet Music (185 pieces and 1 volume); Muster Rolls (518 pieces); Newspapers (2,509 pieces and 10 volumes); Books and Pamphlets (194 pieces); Maps (10 volumes); and Photographs (910 pieces).

Additional papers of army personnel are those of P. G. T. Beauregard (Louisiana; Confederate general), 1839-1888 (291 pieces); Edward A. Burke (Louisiana; Confederate officer and political figure), 1837-1906 (41 pieces); Andrew Hynes Tennessee; U. S. Army officer), 1814-1816 (52 pieces); Henry D. Ogden (Louisiana; jurist, Confederate officer), 1862-1865 (86 pieces); Asa B. Sizer (New York; U. S. Army officer), 1809-1879 (118 items); Ephraim Samuel Stoddard (Vermont, Louisiana; Union soldier, deputy superintendent of public education), 1836-1904 (207 pieces and 12 diaries); Richard Taylor (Louisiana; Confederate general), 1864-1865 (5 letterbooks); and M. Jeff Thompson (Louisiana; Confederate general), 1848-1959 (1,058 pieces).

Among the papers of faculty members of Tulane University are those of Pierce Butler (Louisiana, Mississippi; writer and dean of Newcomb College), 1892-1949 (914 pieces); Albert Bledsoe Dinwiddie (Virginia, Louisiana; president of Tulane University), 1891-1915 (24 pieces); Brandt V. B. Dixon (dean of Newcomb College), 1887-1901 (121 pieces); Leon Ryder Maxwell (Massachusetts, Louisiana; head of the Department

of Music at Newcomb College), 1870-1957 (1,181 pieces); John Leonard Riddel (Ohio, Louisiana; chemist, botanist), 1831-1865 (20 pieces and 28 diaries); Edmond Souchon (Louisiana; physician), 1861-1953 (352 pieces); Ellsworth Woodward (Louisiana; professor of art at Newcomb College), 1914-1939 (528 pieces); and William Woodward (Louisiana, Mississippi; artist, professor of architecture at Tulane University), 1893-1901 (280 pieces).

The papers of persons who served as members of the United States Congress include those of Thomas C. Catchings (Mississippi; lawyer, United States Congressman), 1839-1931 (3,140 pieces); Randall Lee Gibson (Louisiana; lawyer, United States Representative and Senator), 1875-1892 (130 pieces); and John Slidell (Louisiana; United States Senator, diplomat), 1829-1865 (2 pieces and 1 letterbook containing 183 letters written between 1829 and 1833).

Municipal and government archives are represented by the following collections: Louisiana Superior Council Records, 1717-1773 (77 reels of microfilm); New Orleans City Charter Papers, 1950-1952 (248 pieces); New Orleans City Surveyors' Records, 1841-1878 (15 volumes); New Orleans Fire Department Records, 1848-1893 (62 volumes); and New Orleans Municipal Papers, 1770-1884 (1,444 pieces).

There are numerous collections of papers of business, industrial, and banking organizations, such as the Canal Bank and Trust Company, 1827-1903 (741 pieces and 219 volumes); Carroll, Hoy & Company, 1861-1869 (640 pieces); Citizens' Bank of Louisiana, 1834-1892 (539 pieces and 41 volumes); Low-Wallace, 1783-1857 (25 pieces); Marine Paint and Varnish Company (estimated at 5,000 pieces); Norman Mayer, 1903-1937 (250 pieces and 94 volumes); New Orleans and Carrollton Railroad Company, 1834-1896 (260 pieces and 1 volume); Porkony Company, 1851-1958 (228 pieces); and M. A. Rogers Company (estimated at 20,000 pieces).

Papers of educational, social and philanthropic societies and institutions include those of the American Chemical Society,

Louisiana Section, 1906-1955 (604 pieces and 28 volumes); the Asylum for the Relief of Destitute Boys, 1836-1849 (5 volumes); L'Athenée Louisianais, 1876-1886 (215 pieces); Group Theatre, 1926-1938 (323 pieces); New Orleans Academy of Sciences, 1858-1949 (252 pieces); New Orleans Botanical Society, 1932-1941 (1,040 pieces); Poydras Home (Female Orphan Society), 1778-1960 (31,254 pieces and 90 volumes); Société Francaise de Bienfaisance et d'Assistance Mutuelle de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1849-1937 (304 pieces and 30 volumes); and Southern States Art League, 1921-1947 (over 8,000 pieces).

There is a large collection of material dealing with the history of Tulane University and Newcomb College, the Howard Library, the Tulane Society of Economics, and miscellaneous but noteworthy groups of papers, such as Genealogy Records of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Louisiana (30 volumes); Louisianais Steamboat Records, 1824-1825 (98 pieces and 2 volumes); Land Surveys and Applications, 1785-1807 (50 pieces); Prairie Parishes Legal Documents, 1788-1792 (24 pieces); Royal French Land Grants, 1753-1769 (110 pieces); the Souchon Autograph Collection, 1536-1924 (70 pieces); and the G. Purnell Whittington Collection, dealing with the history of Rapides Parish, 1804-1932 (508 pieces).

Collections in the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University

By V. L. BEDSOLE

who is archivist and Head of the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University.

AT THE REQUEST of the National Historical Publications Commission the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of Louisiana State University prepared a preliminary description of its holdings a few years ago for publication by the Commission in a one-volume nation-wide Guide to Depositories of Archives and Manuscripts. That description, revised in January 1960, is used with the permission of the Executive Director of the Commission as the basis of the list presented here for the readers of *Louisiana History*.

The National Historical Publications Commission was created by Congress in 1950. Its forthcoming *Guide* is part of its program to encourage the publication of "the papers of outstanding citizens of the United States." General instructions from the Commission suggest that no group of materials be mentioned that aggregates less than 50 leaves of manuscript and that papers of particular persons be limited principally to Americans holding high Federal or State office or ones included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

Some collections which do not fit in the above mentioned category have been included in this list because of their possible interest to students of Louisiana history. Most of the persons mentioned are from Louisiana. If the place of origin or prominence is not Louisiana, it is so indicated in the entry.

The Department's holdings of more than two million items of original source materials cover the period *ca.* 1700-1959 and pertain chiefly to Louisiana, southwestern Mississippi, and the lower Mississippi Valley. Collections are acquired and used principally for scholarly and other serious research purposes.

The main groups are: (1) some 2,000 collections of personal and family papers, and plantation, business, and professional records, *ca.* 1700-1959 (1,100,000 items and vols.); (2) University records and related material, principally of the office of the President, 1854-1954 (50,000 items and vols.), pertaining to the history and administration of Louisiana State University; (3) State and parish archives, 1786-1933 (1,050,000 items and vols.), held by the Department as the archival unit of the University for the custody of public records; and (4) unpublished research and inventory material of the Survey of Federal Archives and the Historical Records Survey projects in Louisiana, 1936-43 (250 cubic feet), consisting of inventories of public archives, church archives, newspaper files, and manuscript collections; transcriptions of certain Louisiana colonial and territorial records and police jury minutes; and related research material.

Papers of men who held Federal office include those of James B. Aswell (State supt. of public education, pres. of Northwestern Louisiana State College, U. S. Rep.) and his family, 1890-1932 (1,332 items and 35 vols.); Phanor Breazeale (lawyer, U. S. Rep.) and his family, 1806-1904 (4,912 items and 74 vols.); James Brown (U. S. Sen., Minister to France), 1804-27 (98 items); Thomas Butler (State dist., court judge, U. S. Rep.), and related families, 1768-1950 (10,685 items and 172 vols.); Ezekiel John Ellis (lawyer, U. S. Rep.) and his family, 1870-1920 (7,173 items and 72 vols.); Benjamin F. Flanders (teacher, Unionist, U. S. Rep., Military Gov. of La., Mayor of New Orleans), 1827-89 (863 items); Edward J. Gay (planter, manufacturer, U. S. Sen.), his grandfather Edward J. Gay (planter, manufacturer, U. S. Rep.), and related families, 1805-1925 (100,000 items and vols.); William Pitt Kellogg (Gov., U. S. Sen.), 1873-76 (1,327 items); Ladislas

Lazaro (U. S. Rep.), 1894-1928 (6,046 items and 218 vols.); Samuel D. McEnery (Confed. Army officer, Gov., U. S. Sen.), 1882-87 (42 items); Ayers P. Merrill (Miss.; U. S. Minister to Belgium) and his family, 1835-66 (40 items); John H. Overton (U. S. Sen.), 1933-48 (8,000 items); Joseph E. Ransdell (lawyer, U. S. Rep. and Sen.), 1898-1948 (676 items and 28 vols.); Edwin M. Stanton (Ohio, D. C.; Sec. War), 1864-66 (2 vols.); Henry Vignaud (journalist, Confed. diplomat, Sec. of U. S. Legation in Paris, historian), 1862-1909 (385 items), including 75 letters of Louis Placide Canonge (see below); Robert C. Wickliffe (U. S. Rep.), 1897-1912 (70 items and 2 vols.); and John G. A. Williamson (N. C.; U. S. consul and Chargé d'Affaires in Venezuela) and his family, 1812-66 (3 diaries and 473 items).

Papers of Governors of the province, Territory, and State of Louisiana, in addition to a few of those mentioned above, include papers of Henry W. Allen, 1864-65 (20 items); the Baron de Carondelet, 1791-96 (28 items); William C. C. Claiborne, 1804-5, 1812-13 (1 letter book and 5 items); Bernardo de Gálvez, 1778-81 (70 items); Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, 1792-1805 (42 items); Luther E. Hall, 1912-15 (55 items); Thomas O. Moore, 1856-71 (707 items); Francis T. Nicholls, 1877-91 (1 letter book, 2 notebooks, and 19 items); and Jared Y. Sanders and his family 1816-1950 (976 items and 36 vols.).

Papers of Army officers include those of Pierre G. T. Beauregard (U. S. and Confed. Army officer, railroad pres.), and his family, 1818-1912 (806 items and 107 vols.); Joseph L. Brent (Md., La.; Confed. Army officer) and his family, 1862, 1902-40 (1 diary, 1 notebook, and 32 items); Robert Butler (War of 1812 officer), 1833-53 (109 items); Samuel Wragg Ferguson (S. C., Miss.; Confed. Army officer) and his family, 1837-1920 (127 items and 7 vols.); Josiah Gorgas (Pa., Ala.; U. S. and Confed. Army officer) 1847-77 (1 letter book and 3 items); Joseph Jones (Ga., La.; Confed. Army surgeon, sanitarian), 1850-1900 (3,360 items and 74 vols.); St. John R. Liddell (Miss., La.; Confed. Army officer) and his family, 1813-1919 (6,261 items and 49 vols.); John A. Quit-

man (Miss.; Mexican War officer, Gov., U. S. Rep.) and his family, 1824-81 (3 account books, 1 memorandum book, and 17 items); William Tecumseh Sherman (supt. of predecessor of La. State Univ., U. S. Army officer), 1859-90 (230 items); and Henry Wilson (Pa.; Seminole and Mexican Wars army officer, and U. S. military governor of Vera Cruz), 1819-85 (303 items).

Papers of college and university professors and presidents include those of David F. Boyd (La. State Univ. pres.) and his family, 1802-1940 (16,357 items and 323 vols.); Thomas D. Boyd (La. State Univ. pres.) and his family 1875-1929 (30,700 items and 109 vols.); James H. Dillard (Va., Mo., La.; dean at Tulane Univ., pres. of Jeanes Foundation and John F. Slater Fund), 1899-1940 (134 items); Richard T. Ely (Md., Wis., Ill.; economist, prof. at Johns Hopkins, Wis., and Northwestern Univs.), 1700-1895 (321 items and 11 vols.); John Rose Ficklen (historian, Tulane Univ. prof.), 1832-1906 (43 items and 6 vols.); Walter Lynwood Fleming (La., Tenn.; historian), 1908-15 (161 items); Joseph Lakanal (France, Ala., La.; French Revolutionary educator, pres. of College of Orleans, New Orleans), 1793-1834 (22 items); and Edwin L. Stephens (pres. of Southwestern La. Institute), 1883-1940 (6,656 items and 6 vols.).

Papers of other individuals include those of Thomas Affleck (Ind., Miss., Tex.; horticulturist), 1807-79 (925 items and 62 vols.); Louis Placide Canonge (journalist, dramatist) 1886-93 (87 letters); James H. Dakin (architect), 1847-50 (1 diary); J. D. B. DeBow (journalist), 1851-65 (25 items); Stephen Duncan (Pa., Miss.; physician, factor, planter, bank pres.) and his family, 1814-99 (351 items, 2 diaries, and 9 other vols.); Charles E. A. Gayarré (historian), 1720-1895 (967 items and 14 vols.); Jean Gentil (journalist, 1874-1902 (73 items); Joseph C. Hartzell (Ill., La., Africa; Methodist clergyman, missionary bishop for Africa), 1862-72, 1900-6 (488 items and 1 vol.); Charles Colcock Jones, Jr. (Ga., N. Y.; historian), 1865-93 (77 items and 1 vol.); Duncan F. Kenner (Confed. statesman) and his family, 1854-88 (334 items and 2 account books);

the Marquis de Lafayette (France; French and U. S. Army officer) and his family, 1805-48 (124 items); Eleanor Percy Ware Lee (Miss.; poet, novelist), 1830-49 (6 notebooks, 1 other vol., and 19 items); Robert M. Lusher (State supt. of education), 1795-1931 (24 diaries, 2 other vols. and 109 items); Andrew D. Lytle (Ohio, La.; Civil War photographer), 1862-1904 (385 photographs); John W. Monette (Miss.; physician, historian), 1824 (1 vol.); Leona Queyrouse (poet, essayist, lecturer), 1810-1940 (2,614 items and 54 vols.); Henri Rémy (teacher, essayist, editor, historian), 1704-1848 (315 items and 2 vols.); Adrien Rouquette (priest and poet), 1840-60 (359 items and 27 vols.); Lyle Saxon (author), 1923-47 (144 items and 8 vols.); Raphael Semmes (Md., Ala.; U. S. and Confed. Naval officer), 1866-1911 (21 items); James G. Taliaferro (Ky., La.; Republican Party leader, State supreme court justice) and his family, 1787-1934 (895 items and 4 vols.); and Edward Clifton Wharton (Tex., La.; journalist, dramatist, critic) and his family, including John Robert Baylor (Tex.; Confed. Army officer and statesman), 1825-1936 (959 items, 6 diaries, and 3 other vols.).

Other major collections include the E. B. and N. Philip Norman (Avoyelles and Rapides) collection of steamboat and related material for the Lower Mississippi and Red rivers, 1827-1954 (854 items and 112 vols.); Joseph Reynes (Orleans) and his family papers, 1743-1929 (624 items and 36 vols.), reflecting French heritage and culture; research materials and writings of Louisiana and local historians, including J. Fair Hardin (Caddo), 1718-1939 (2,225 items and 18 vols.), and Robert D. Calhoun (Concordia), 1794-1896 (235 items and 8 vols.); papers of Colonel Simon G. Jerrard (Me.; U. S. Army officer) of service in Louisiana, 1862-63, 1897 (1,137 items); William T. Johnson (Miss.; free man of color) and his family, 1793-1937 (1,323 items and 63 vols.); William Newton Mercer (Miss., La.; U. S. Army surgeon, planter, financier), 1789-1874 (1,684 items and 61 vols.); and Joseph D. Shields (Miss.; lawyer, author) and his family, 1802-1948 (1,109 items and 19 vols.).

Papers of Louisiana planters include A. A. Batchelor (Pointe Coupee), 1856-1930 (18,272 items and 50 vols.); Hubbard S. Bosley (Red River) and his family, 1825-1947 (1,249 items and 39 vols.); Louis A. Bringier (Ascension) and his family, 1786-1901 (599 items and 14 vols.) Thomas Butler (West Feliciana and Terrebonne) and his family, mentioned above in men who held Federal office; Thomas W. Butler (West Feliciana) and his family, 1844-1910 (3,724 items and 20 vols.); J. E. Hawkins (Evangeline), 1859-1912 (4,464 items and 184 vols.); George Lanaux (Plaquemines and St. Bernard) and his family, 1830-1915 (3,206 items and 35 vols.); George B. Marshall (Rapides) and his family, 1807-1900 (290 items and 5 vols.); Charles L. Mathews (West Feliciana) and his family, 1797-1902 (1,908 items); John W. Pharr (St. Mary) and his family, 1848-1934 (24,550 items and 361 vols.); Richard L. Pugh (Assumption and Lafourche) and his family, 1844-1900 (282 items and 15 vols.); William W. Pugh (Assumption) and his family, 1830-1912 (100 items and 14 vols.); John H. Randolph (Iberville), 1822-1890 (1,034 items and 15 vols.); Uncle Sam Plantation (St. James), 1815-1914 (30,000 items and 34 vols); and David Weeks (Iberia) and his family, 1782-1894 (20,000 items and 50 vols.).

Papers of Mississippi planters include John Bisland and his family, 1762-1876 (1,161 items and 12 vols.); Eli Capell, 1842-91 (22 diaries); Nathaniel Evans and his family, 1791-1932 (3,475 items and 45 vols.); Alexander K. Farrar and his family, 1804-1931 (2,303 items and 1 vol.); John C. Jenkins and his family, 1840-1900 (89 items, 12 dairies, and 1 account book); J. Burruss McGehee and James Stewart McGehee, 1816-1941 (12,379 items and 63 vols.); and William J. Minor and his family, 1748-1898 (410 items and 37 vols.).

Plantation collections from Arkansas include the Isaac H. Hilliard and family papers, 1756-1924 (173 items and 13 vols.).

Business records include those of George W. Bennett (Rapides), merchant and planter, 1859-1917 (5,000 items and 202 vols.); Consolidated Association of Planters of Louisiana, 1827-

1912 (9,666 items and 85 vols.); Golsan Brothers (Orleans), factors and commission merchants, 1866-76 (15,645 items and 102 vols.); Simon Gumbel (Orleans) and family, factors and commission merchants, 1851-1949 (1,747 items and 83 vols.); noncurrent records of the Southern Pine Association, 1903-48 (300 linear feet); various Louisiana and Mississippi lumber mills and brick companies, *ca.* 1825-1935 (175 linear feet); and various Louisiana and Mississippi banks, *ca.* 1825-1930 (75 linear feet).

Significant groups of State archives, including materials of some predecessor and successor agencies, consist of records of the Board of Control of the Leper Home, 1892-1921 (20,320 items); the Board of Control of the State Penitentiary, 1879-1930 (43,168 items); the Department of Education, 1825-1931 (228,500 items); the Railroad Commission, 1898-1919 (30,-135 items); the Secretary of State, 1873-1930 (81,975 items); the State Auditor, 1823-1933 (44,350 items); and the Executive Department, 1832-1928 (16,670 items). Records of a few of the State's parishes, 1786-1933 (88,218 items) consist chiefly of case papers of district, parish, and probate courts for 6 of the 64 parishes.

A French Traveler's View of Ante-Bellum New Orleans

By HENRY BERTRAM HILL and LARRY GARA

who is Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin.

who is Chairman of the Department of History at Grove City College.

FROM COLONIAL TIMES to the present visitors to the Crescent City have been fascinated with the mixture of Old World and New which they have found there. None, perhaps, was more enthusiastic than the French pianist and composer, Henri Herz,[1] whose concert tours brought him to the Americas in 1846. He toured North and South America for five years, visiting and playing in many United States cities along the way from Boston to the lower South. After returning home he penned one of a projected two volumes containing his reactions to and descriptions of life in the Americas.[2]

Herz described a number of Southern cities in his book but it was New Orleans that delighted him most. Although he was born in Austria he had gone to Paris as a child, had studied at the conservatory there, and always considered himself French. After Herz had visited so many other places, New Orleans seemed almost like home. He was happy to roam its streets and to hear his native language once more. Be-

[1]Heinrich Herz (1806-1888) went from his native Austria to Paris as a child prodigy and music student. He identified himself with his adopted homeland and used the name Henri Herz professionally. During his musical career Herz traveled extensively in Europe and America, held a professorship at the Paris Conservatory, twice went into the business of manufacturing fine pianos, and built a concert hall. Although critics have accused him of lacking first-rate artistic ability, his concerts and compositions were very popular in his day. More than two hundred compositions are credited to him. H. C. Colles, (ed.), *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (3rd ed., 5 vols., New York, 1927-1928), II, 620-621.

[2]*Mes voyages en Amerique* (Paris, 1866). The portion reprinted here was translated from the French by Henry Bertram Hill.

sides giving a brief description of the city Herz included a sympathetic portrait of his fellow countryman, Pierre Soulé.

"I cannot tell how happy I was when I arrived in New Orleans and heard French spoken, saw French faces frequently, and read signs on stores in French. A person must have traveled in distant countries to comprehend the sweet and lively emotion which is evoked by anything that recalls his native land or the land to which he has given his affection and considers his own. I believed myself almost in France itself when I was in the French quarter of New Orleans. Indeed that quarter is like a portion of France which has succeeded in avoiding being swallowed up in the rushing torrent of American civilization.

New Orleans is divided administratively into six quarters or districts. In reality, however, there are only two quarters: the English or American, and the French. They are, to all intents and purposes, two cities in one, two cities perfectly distinct from each other in every respect, from physical appearance to spirit of the inhabitants. In the English quarter, practically nothing but English is spoken, and all the inhabitants are English. The houses there are several stories high, built of brick, and business is king. The French quarter is characterized by its old Creole mansions, by the French language, which is spoken exclusively there, and by a certain easy-going attitude toward life which has nothing in common with the rigid habits and seriousness of the business men of the other quarter. New Orleans is perhaps the only city in the world which possesses this dual aspect in appearance and population, the only city also having two mother tongues taught with equal care in the public schools.

If yellow fever, which at one time or another ravaged Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, had not seemed to have decided to remain permanently in New Orleans, that city would very probably have become the most flourishing and largest city in the Union. But the terrible scourge[3] has

[3]It has been said that the yellow fever was brought to New Orleans in 1769 by an English ship coming from the Antilles with a cargo of slaves. In 1851 some

always partly offset the rising tide of immigration, the principal source of the rapid increase in population in the United States. Most of the immigrants who arrive in New Orleans are in transit. Hardly have they disembarked before they move on toward the agricultural regions of the West, where Germans in particular have been most successful in establishing family farms. But New Orleans, in spite of the yellow fever, has shared in the good fortune which has blessed America. Figures on this subject speak more eloquently than words, so I will let them speak.

In 1785 New Orleans was a city of 4700 inhabitants. In 1810 it counted 17,242 souls. In 1820 the population had risen to 27,176 persons. In 1830, to 46,310; in 1840, to 102,193; and the general census made in 1853 carried the population of the city to 145,497, of whom 29,174 were slaves or free colored men. To this should be added that in 1817 no more than twenty ships plied the waters of the West, while today close to 800 steamboats, as long and wide as warehouses, each with several decks, two stacks as beautiful as monuments, churn the rivers of that rich region and for the most part come down as far as New Orleans.

To what can be attributed the apparent increase in population in a place such as New Orleans which has acquired so few immigrants? Evidently to the large number of marriages, which are more numerous and more fruitful in the United States than in almost any other part of the world. . . . ."[4]

"Like all foreigners who visit the great Louisiana city, I was seized with admiration on seeing the activity which reigned on the docks, literally covered with bales of cotton, casks of sugar, barrels of flour, sacks of cereals, lumber, tobacco, salted meat, etc. It is a world of commission men, speculators, and dealers who argue feverishly in the midst of this piled-up merchandise. Horses, wagons, Negroes, and whites bustled about

9500 victims died of yellow fever in the city, or about one fifth of the population, since hardly more than 50,000 people remained in New Orleans during the summer season. [Herz's note.]

[4]A long commentary on American marriage customs follows.

in an area six hundred feet wide, where half the business of the United States takes place. The *levee*, a sort of dike at New Orleans, serves both the commercial needs and the security of the city, which is built on marshy ground several feet below the level of the ceaselessly menacing river.[5] This levee is never less than six feet high, with a base fifteen feet wide, and runs down stream to the port of Plaquemine. It makes a long and pleasant promenade in a country where the sky is on fire in summer but where at Christmas time one can see oranges blossoming in the countryside.

When the city is entered by any of the streets which border the river, the water and ships are seen above the level of the ground, and you would shudder at the prospect of being engulfed if you do not know the nature of the city, as at first I did not, being a foreigner who had just arrived. One of my favorite walks in this queen of cities was along the harbor. In the great bend it makes around New Orleans, which for this reason is called the Crescent City, it provides a haven eight miles long and around one and half wide. Unfortunately, the water is not deep enough to permit the largest ships to approach the docks, and they must be loaded and unloaded at Balize. The trans-shipments this involves are handled by small steamers which shuttle about at unbelievable speeds in all directions over this part of the Father of Waters, as the Mississippi is called.

In New Orleans we stopped at the Hotel Saint Charles, a tremendous structure surmounted by a dome modeled after our Pantheon in Paris, but having more modest proportions. I was told (I did not count them myself) that there were 2,000 rooms in that caravanserai, where all of the languages of all the

[5]Monsieur Anatole Chatelain gives us an idea of the damage occasioned by the overflow of the Mississippi which it is impossible to control at times of great flood. The loss, he says, for the single year 1858 amounted to 15-20,000 barrels of sugar and 25,000-30,000 barrels of mollasses. By figuring the sugar worth $50 a barrel and the molasses at $10, and assuming the average barrel to weigh 500 kilograms, we arrive at a total of $1-1,350,000, a figure which could easily be raised to $1,500,000 (8 million francs) if the cost of repairing the damage is included. [Herz's note.]

peoples of the world were spoken. Alas, the Hotel Saint Charles has ended as so many great edifices as well as most modest homes all over the United States have ended. Fire, the great national scourge, has since consumed the hotel, and I do not believe it has risen from the ashes, even though it was phoenix-like. . . ."[6]

"In New Orleans I had the rare privilege of knowing Mr. and Mrs. [Pierre] Soulé, whose home was the meeting place of all the distinguished people in the region. Mr. Soulé, born in France of French parents, rose rapidly to the top rank in the legal profession, and he had the unique experience, for a foreigner, of representing the United States as ambassador to Madrid. His learning was as profound as his manner was friendly, and as a master of eloquence he was the equal of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Mirabeau. His glance was fiery, his gesture inspired, his voice melodious, his word choice fitting, his sense of the proper astonishing, his logic implacable, his wealth of expression marvelous, and his bearing attractive, with an ineffable magnetism and spontaneity which captivated everyone. On one occasion I heard Mr. Soulé plead an important case, and I was fascinated by his skillful oratorical talents, which already enjoyed considerable renown in the new world.

Mrs. Soulé, now some years dead, was a worthy companion of the great orator. Endowed with all the graces of her sex, she augmented her beauty by possessing the exquisite manners of an accomplished hostess, a naturally gay spirit, and a skill at playing the piano rare in an amateur. Mr. Soulé was deeply in love with his wife, who in turn profoundly loved him, and it was with her that he clarified his mind and strengthened his spirit before delivering a crucial oration. Indeed, before leaving home to appear in court or mount the rostrum, he besought Mrs. Soulé to play on the piano for him some selection from Beethoven or Mozart, or to read to him a few lines from

[6]Two lengthy anecdotes follow this passage. One tells of a group of free Negroes who requested Herz to play for them. He was advised by his promotor to refuse and did so. The second story concerns the cruelty of a quadroon at whose hotel Herz stayed.

Byron, Lamartine, Hugo, or de Musset, his favorite poets. His soul once moved by music or poetry, he felt himself elevated into the spheres of the ideal where his imagination loved to soar, and he spoke then as the prophets spoke, as the oracles spoke. What noble moments I passed in New Orleans in the company of that happy couple, so eminently distinguished for both character and ability!

Since I have spoken about the most eloquent lawyer in New Orleans, I wish in passing, to say what I think about American courts. I must begin by reporting the my introduction was a painful surprise. Nothing in those temples of justice, where everything ought to be solemn and impressive, caught my imagination or inspired my respect. The judges, dressed in ordinary business suits and conducting themselves lackadaisically, seemed to be unaware of the high mission with which they were charged. They can often be seen in bars, elbows on the table, sipping a glass of whiskey while playing dominoes. That is carrying the spirit of democracy to excess, and it is unfortunate that in America the judges are not clothed in a special costume, as they are in France and England. It is also unfortunate that they frequently fail to maintain that gravity which is so essential for the representatives of justice. . . ."[7]

"Several changes having been made in the concert plans so wisely conceived by Ulmann.[8] Sivori[9] went in one direction with his triumphant bow, while I went in the other, in an attempt to please those who enjoy piano music. From New Orleans I set sail for Mobile. At the moment when Ulmann and I

[7]Several long stories with dialogue follow this passage. The first tells of Herz's manager arranging for and carrying out a plan for several concerts of what he called "financial music" with sixteen beautiful ladies from New Orleans playing one selection along with Herz. A second anecdote tells of Herz's reaction to social ostracism against people who were suspected of having some Negro ancestry.

[8]Bernard Ulmann, a well known impresario, was Herz's manager during his American tour.

[9]Ernesto Camillo Sivori (1815-1894) was a popular concert violinist who had studied under Paganini. Ulmann had arranged for a series of joint concerts with Herz and Sivori which were to be preceded by individual concerts by both artists.

were about to go on board, we witnessed a dispute between two Creoles over some inconsequential little thing. The two participants, with no thought for the persons about them, and at the risk of wounding innocent bystanders reached in their pockets and drew out revolvers. They exchanged a dozen shots, and this fight in open daylight stopped only when one of the combatants fell with a shattered shoulder. No one seemed the least surprised at such an impromptu duel, and hardly any questions were asked. It is fitting, in this regard, to say that New Orleans has always been notorious for such savage fights, although today they are going out of fashion."

Vignettes

St. Charles Theater—1837

"The front measured 129 feet from one side to the other, by seventy-six feet high. It was one-half story higher than the adjacent two-story buildings and thus stood out conspicuously among the buildings of the neighborhood. Ten Corinthian columns supported a portico which ran between the second and third floors. Above the portico ten Doric columns carried the decorative effect of the facade up to a pediment which relieved the horizontal lines of the windows of the third floor. The facade was further embellished with lunettes over the first and third floor openings, and with figures of the Muses in high relief in the pediment.

"Five wide doors led into the columned hall, which was flanked by stairways. Each of the four inner floors had a drawing-room, as also had the central hall below. The nineteen boxes on the first floor were latticed, and curtained in rich colors and shut off from the corridors by mahogany doors. The boxes on the first three levels were provided with twelve chairs each. They were used by fashionable families, who usually purchased tickets for the entire season at a cost of $1000 per box. These were the only parts of the house where ladies sat. The parquet floor was nearly level, but its seats were so arranged as to give every spectator an uninterrupted view of the stage. Here were accommodations for about two hundred persons, all men. Their black evening suits and white shirts were regularly a feature of the St. Charles. Behind the parquet, the pit and the pit-lobby accommodated five hundred persons, chiefly the less socially-distinguished part of the audience.

"The second tier of boxes resembled those on the first tier in general appearance, except that the seven center ones were arranged somewhat in the form of an amphitheater with three hundred cushioned seats, for which tickets could be purchased for individual performances at the same price as the pit seats, and like them were utilized by men only. The four doorways on this level opened into the grand promenade, which was heavily carpeted and adorned with beautiful statues.

"The third tier of boxes were in plan much like those of the second tier. The entrance to the gallery on the fourth tier of seats

was by a stairway at the right of the entrance hall. This floor also had its reception room. The gallery was usually occupied by a mixed audience, including free men of color and slaves who were admitted when provided with permits from their owners.

"In all, there were forty-seven boxes, back of each of which were boudoirs, or rest-rooms, handsomely fitted up.

"From the stage the auditorium presented the appearance of an elongated semicircle, flanked by the boxes. The exterior of the boxes was adorned with scrolls in gold on a background of ivory. Draperies of blue, red and gold adorned the boxes, and hung from brass rods. According to a writer [Connor] . . . 'These damask curtains' were 'the most perfect specimens of ornamental decorations we have ever seen,' and he estimated the cost of them at $4000. Heavy Doric columns with gilded capitals separated the boxes of the first tier from one another, and supported those of the second. The columns above were of cast-iron, undecorated. The ceiling rounded into a great dome, from the center of which depended the great crystal chandelier which was the pride of the establishment.

"The stage was planned with the greatest care. The orchestra pit was twelve feet deep and extended from one side to the other, across the full width of the stage. The proscenium arch was flanked by double Corinthian columns with bases of imitation Brecchia marble. The outer curtain was of red moreen and hung in deep folds. It could be raised by pulleys. From the curtain to the rear of the stage measured eighty-six feet. It had nine entrances on each side. The wings were so arranged that they hung from the ceiling, and could be drawn together to reduce the size of the stage at will. The depth of the stage was equally adjustable by lowering the flies. The flies usually hung at a level of twenty feet, but they could be raised to a height of forty feet. This facility of adjustment made possible the presentation on the stage of almost every imaginable kind of entertainment, from the most intimate scenes in farce to the grandest interiors, as, for example, when the stage was made to reproduce a great hall forty feet high, eighty-two feet deep, and ninety-six feet long, with rows of columns and scores of gas lights.

"The stage was lighted by gas. On the stage level were two green rooms completely furnished. Stairways on either side of the stage led to the dressing rooms, of which there were twenty-six. The rooms for the wardrobe, scenery and supplies, etc., were reached by these staircases also."

Lucile Gafford, "History of the St. Charles Theater in New Orleans, 1835-1843" (unpublished thesis, University of Chicago), quoted in John S. Kendall, *The Golden Age of the New Orleans Theater* (Baton Rouge, 1952), 114-115.

Louisiana State University — The Editors

Indian Ball Game

"While the Choctas remained here a large Party of Pascagolas Came to play a Match at Ball with them, there were twenty (sic) four players of a Side they made high Betts (sic), & even the Women bet with One Another every rag of Cloathing (sic) they had, and the Winer (sic) Stript (sic) the Looser immediately On the ground, the Men Bet their Horses, Guns, Jewelry &c the first day the Choctas Beat the Pascagolas, they played Again two days After Changing the Match a little by leaving Out Some & taking in Others & the Pascagolas Beat; the Points of Game are Twelve, their Agility, & exertion is Astonishing to spectators, & very Interesting, they Often hurt One Another by Blows & falls, Brake (sic) & Deslocate (sic) Bones & Joints, & Sometimes kill One Another, but Never get Angry, or resent Anything that is done in the game of Ball, If one ever discovers any Anger or resentment, he is turned Out as disquallified (sic), & not Suffered to play in a Match Again, which is deemed very disgracefull (sic), a description of the Principles, of the Game, the Instrument Used, the preparations & Rules &c would be Somewhat lengthy and probably would not be deemed worth Noticing here, or I would mention it a (sic) large."

Abstract from the Records of John Sibley, Indian Agent in the Territory of Orleans for the Year 1807 Relative to Indian Affairs, May 26, 1807, Record Group 75, National Archives. (Microfilm copy in possession of the undersigned.)

Louisiana State University — Joyce Purser

A Yankee Soldier on Louisiana's Rainy Season

It was our fortune to reach Louisiana during the rainy season. New Orleans seemed to us, after one or two experiences of swamping rains, a wet enough place, but when we were taken out to our first country camp a few miles out of the city, we really realised what damp conditions were. The rain was pretty steady for five or six weeks. I have a memory of the water coming down not in drops but

in continuous streams. Then, as before explained, it did not run off as there was no place to run off to. The river was taking its course over its ridge of hills. I now realized that meaning of a reference that I had before heard to lower Louisiana as the country where there is but one hill and that the river runs over the top of. Our second camp was on a piece of ground which, during a part of the year at least, must have been dry, a few hundred feet back of the levee. Half a mile farther inland, began the swamp which during nine months of the year served to drain the strip of plantation land. During the other three months when the water in the swamp was high, the plantation had to give up any hope of being drained. It was during these "other months" that our experience began. We had tents and after a little experience we learned to dig ditches around the tents, and with some delay on the part of the quartermaster's department, we finally secured planking for floors. While we were waiting for these planks, we lay in the mud. After the flooring of the tents was completed, we were able, with the use of rubber blankets, to keep a little separation between ourselves and the water from below. There were very few tents, however, that were able long to withstand the drench of the tropical rain. Weak points would be discovered and would result in the trickling in of streams of increasing volume. The pressure against the tent of any portion of the occupant's body would at once make a connection with the water outside. Malarious fevers, rheumatic fevers, influenzas, and all the other botherations of damp environment soon took possession of the camp. Guard duty was, of necessity, kept up, but drills and parades were postponed. I remember the discouragement of the men when they attended the first of the funerals. The graves had been dug in ordinary course (and with more care than proved practicable later when the funerals multiplied), but by the time we were prepared to deposit what was left of our comrades, the graves were filled with water. The impression given was that we were living on a raft of inconsiderable thickness and that a very little digging or piercing brought us to the flood below. Men who had lain in the mud with comparative patience became quite discouraged when they realized that they could not sleep dry after death. The Catholics were particularly troubled, I do not yet realise why.

George Haven Putnam, *Memories of My Youth* (New York, 1919), 253-255.

Louisiana State University T. Harry Williams

Notes and Comments

PERSONALS

Department of Social Studies, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute: *New Appointment:* Harry Richard Mahood, Ph. D. from the University of Illinois, assistant professor of political science.

Department of History, Louisiana State University in New Orleans: Trygve R. Tholfsen has been appointed chairman of the newly created Department of History; *Research award:* Thomas W. Africa, recipent of an American Council of Learned Societies grant for research on the social history of science in the ancient world.

Department of History, Tulane University: *Promotion:* Thomas L. Karnes to associate professor.

Department of History, Louisiana State University: John L. Loos will be on a ¼ time teaching schedule during the second semester of the 1960-61 academic year in order that he may devote additional time to research on his forthcoming work on William Clark, co-leader of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

In October the East Feliciana Pilgrimage and Garden Club elected the following officers for 1961: Mrs. Howard Schmitt, President; Mrs. P. R. Vick, Vice-President; Mrs. E. O. Munson, Recording Secretary; Mrs. Martyn Young, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. J. B. Herrod, Treasurer; Mrs. W. W. Overton, Parliamentarian; Mrs. Tom McKenzie, Historian. Mrs. W. I. Spencer was appointed program chairman for 1961. The Club is devoting efforts and funds to the restoration of Marston House, one of the landmarks of East Feliciana Parish.

Recently the Southwest Historical Society was adddressed by two distinguished historians. Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes of McNeese State College spoke on the topic "Some Glimpses of Spanish Rule in Natchez," and Dr. Jane L. deGrummond of Louisiana State University spoke to the group on "The Baratarians."

The Morgan City Historical Society recently elected officers for the coming year. The new officers are: Milford Blum, President; Mark Nix, Vice-President; Sally Shelton, Secretary-Treasurer; and

Frances Ratcliff, Historian. Besides numerous individual projects the Society project for the year is trying to obtain Civil War cannons for the newly dedicated Fort Star. The Society also announces that the second edition of *The History of Morgan City*, published in conjunction with the centennial celebration, has been sold out.

The New Orleans Cultural Centre Commission has converted space on the ground floor of Gallier Hall for permanent offices of the League of Women Voters. During the week of November 6, the American Institute of Architects used Gallier Hall for a reception for a Swedish Architect group that was visiting the city. Two worthwhile projects for 1961 have been decided upon, one is for an educational program and the other is a membership drive with the hopes of raising the membership to 2,000. Dues are $2.00 a year.

MEETINGS

The Southern Historical Association held its twenty-sixth annual meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on November 10, 11, and 12, 1960. Dr. T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University presided at the annual dinner on Thursday, November 10. Dr. Walter C. Richardson of Louisiana State University presided over a meeting on "Reinterpreting British Parliamentary History," on Thursday. Dr. F. Ray Marshall of the Department of Economics, Louisiana State University, served as discussant of a program on "Business and Labor in the New South." On Friday, November 11, Dr. William C. Binkley of Tulane University presided at the American History Luncheon. Friday morning at a program on "Germany Between the Wars," Dr. Amos E. Simpson of the University of Southwestern Louisiana read a paper entitled, "*Wehrwirtschaft*, Autarky, and the Four-Year Plan," and Dr. Henry E. Friedlander of Louisiana State University in New Orleans read a paper entitled, "Conflict of Revolutionary Authority: Provisional Government vs. Berlin Soviet, November-December 1918." On Saturday morning Dr. W. Burlie Brown of Tulane University read a paper on "A Case Study in Cooperation between Secondary and College History Teachers" on a program on "Recent Developments and Problems in High School and College History Teaching." Also on Saturday morning, Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes of McNeese State College read a paper entitled, "The Spanish-American Struggle over the Yazoo, 1789-1798." At the business meeting on Thursday the following were elected officers for the coming year: Clement Eaton, University of Kentucky, President; Rembert W. Pat-

rick, University of Florida, Vice-President; and Bennett H. Wall, University of Kentucky, Secretary-Treasurer.

MISCELLANY

Governor James H. Davis has appointed a Civil War Centennial Commission to arrange Louisiana's celebrating of the one hundredth anniversary of the War Between the States. Heading the commission as chairman is Senator Sylvan Friedman of Natchez, Louisiana, representing the eighth Congressional district. T. Harry Williams, Civil War authority and Boyd professor of history at Louisiana State University, representing the sixth Congressional district, was named vice-chairman. Other members of the commission are: Fritz Sweigart, New Orleans, representing the first Congressional district; Representative Bryan Lehmann of Norco, representing the second Congressional district; Alcide Broussard, Erath, representing the third Congressional district; Mrs. Frank Fava, Shreveport, representing the fourth Congressional district; Mrs. J. B. Shackleford of Jones, representing the fifth Congressional district; and Representative Jesse Knowles of Lake Charles, representing the seventh Congressional district. Also on the Commission is John E. Regard of Marksville, Director of State Archives and Records Commission.

Roland Marquette, clerk of court of Assumption Parish, announced recently that the translation of the Assumption Parish conveyance records from French into English has been completed. The work was a two-year project started by the late Francis Rodrigue, former clerk of court of Assumption. Mrs. Clyde Simmons did the translating.

Marriage Contracts of Natchitoches, 1739-1803, consisting of more than one hundred translated and abstracted records from Natchitoches, the oldest permanent settlement in Louisiana, will be released in January, 1961. The work also includes a glossary of archaic and colloquial French terms, and a complete name index. The publication consists of approximately ninety pages of standard 6 x 9 size and is bound in a hard case cover. Winston De Ville, co-author of *Marriage Contracts of the Opelousas Post, 1766-1803* with Jacqueline O. Vidrine, is the author of this work. Only 125 copies will be available for sale at the price of $10.00. Pre-publication price is $7.50. Copy may be reserved by writing the author at P. O. Box 1714, Easton, Louisiana.

Bossier Parish organized what is thought to be the first Civil War Centennial Commission on a parish or county basis in the United

States in September. The Bossier Parish Police Jury and Lions Club pointed out that it was proper for Bossier Parish to create the first such commission since the parish was the first to secede. On November 26, 1860, a group of irate Bossier citizens met at Rocky Mount and passed a secession ordinance and organized the Minute Men of Bossier Parish. John A. Manry and Arthur W. Phillips were named as chairman and co-chairman of the commission which adopted the official title of Bossier Civil War Centennial and Historical Landmarks Commission.

On October 28, Oregon held its first formal observance of the Civil War Centennial at the sixty-third annual dinner of the Oregon Historical Society. Guest speaker for the occasion was T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University.

On October 14, Dr. Jack D. L. Holmes of McNeese State College spoke before the Civil War Roundtable of Houston. His topic was "When the Forrests Raided Memphis."

The twenty-third series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History will be held at Louisiana State University on April 10 and 11, 1961. The speaker will be Dr. Clement Eaton, noted Southern historian of the University of Kentucky. The subject of the lectures will be "The Mind of the Old South." Individual lectures will be as follows: "Maunsel White of Louisiana and the Commercial Mind;" "James H. Hammond of South Carolina and the Conservative Mind;" and "Henry A. Wise of Virginia and the Liberal Mind." The lectures are sponsored yearly by the Graduate School and the Department of History of Louisiana State University.

In Memoriam

JOSEPH ROGER BAUDIER

(1893 - 1960)

Louisiana lost its most authoritative, prolific and versatile church historian on November 12, 1960, when death claimed Joseph Roger Baudier, Sr., at Hotel Dieu in New Orleans.

A self-taught writer, researcher, and ecclesiologist, Roger Baudier was born in the heart of the Vieux Carré on July 30, 1893, the son of John Alexandre Baudier and Louise Angela Baudier. Orphaned twice by the time he was six years old, he attended St. Philip School in New Orleans where he was writing and directing school plays although still in the elementary grades. In 1909 he decided to study for the priesthood under the Franciscan Fathers in Santa Barbara, California. Finding that his interests lay elsewhere, he left the seminary to teach in a Franciscan school in Watsonville, California, where he remained until 1918. After trying six times to enlist in World War I, he was finally assigned as a French interpreter to headquarters of the Eighth Division. The Armistice was signed before he could be transferred overseas. After various assignments in the army he returned to New Orleans in May, 1919.

Roger Baudier earned his livelihood during the 1920's in various clerical positions and, at the same time, found an outlet for his writing talents by contributing articles to periodicals and by publishing or editing a number of trade journals and house organs, among which were *The Boomerang* (athletic magazine for the Southern Pacific Railway), *Columbia* (a magazine for Council 714, Knights of Columbus, of which he was a member from 1923 until his death), *The Mixer* (bakery trade journal), *The Southern Plumber*, *The Southwestern Miller* (baker's weekly) and in his last years, *The Dough Boy* (bakers' magazine which he edited from 1949 to 1960). At his best when writing serially, Roger Baudier in his early journalistic days wrote lengthy articles on "Bread-making Customs of Indians of the Southwest", "Sanitation in New Orleans", the flour industry in Louisiana colonial days, and on baking in the first years of New Orleans. These helped to establish his reputation as a competent and meticulous researcher. Always willing to contribute his talents to the church, he became associate editor of *St. Ann's Herald* in 1927

and, four years later, published his first book "The Story of Saint Ann". He later became editor of the *Herald* and probably his last published article was his editorial for the Christmas 1960 issue, written on his deathbed.

When *Catholic Action of the South*, the official organ of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and, in time, of the suffragan sees of Lafayette, Alexandria and Natchez, was launched in late 1932, Roger Baudier was named associate editor. Two years later be became editor, a position he held until his resignation on May 1, 1949. He continued through the 1950's to contribute important historical articles to the paper. His weekly column "Historic Old New Orleans", a series of perceptive vignettes on Creole life, was a popular feature in *Catholic Action* from 1934 until the month of his death. He was often urged to publish the series in book form but apparently could not find time to attempt the task. Indeed, those who knew Roger Baudier best and kept up with his literary output often wondered how he found time for his myriad interests and projects. Over the years, he served on some 120 boards and committees and wrote at least 40 monographs on church parishes and institutions in Louisiana. Actually he was writing history each working day since his newspaper editorials and magazine articles almost invariably showed his penchant for placing issues, events, and facts in historical perspective. Practically every notable anniversary of the Catholic church in Louisiana and Mississippi since the 1930's engaged the services of Roger Baudier either in the field of public relations or as writer of a commemorative volume or brochure. Sometimes he acted in both capacities, as was the case with the Eighth National Eucharistic Congress held in New Orleans in 1938. Besides providing news media with background information, he compiled and designed the handsome, richly illustrated 657-page Congress book published in 1941.

Roger Baudier's claim to fame, however, rests on his monumental history entitled *The Catholic Church in Louisiana.* A collector's item, this *magnum opus* was the product of decades of specialized reading and incessant research. Always a welcome guest in every rectory and chancery, Roger Baudier over a period of more than five years personally sifted through and catalogued hundreds of parish records, memoirs, manuscripts, minute books, old prints, photographs, and other archives whose historical value he was often the first to recognize and, more important, to utilize. At his own expense, he procured copies and photostats of documents and papers from Paris, Cuba,

Spain, Canada, the Vatican and other depositories. The essential value of the history and of the efforts which produced it lies in the vast richness of the primary sources which Roger Baudier was the first to tap.

The genesis of what is now known to students simply as "Baudier's History," or simply as "Baudier," is best traced by the author himself in his foreword:

> To fill a longfelt need among librarians, journalists, teachers, professors of history, writers, research workers, the clergy and religious and the public in general as well, for a complete history of the Catholic Church in the state of Louisiana, the author undertook the laborious task of compiling such a work at the suggestions of the late Most Reverend John W. Shaw, D.D., Archbishop of New Orleans, who likewise felt the need for a continuous account of Catholicism in this lower end of of the Mississippi Valley. In preparing this work, the author has sought for practical purposes to offer such an account within the confines of a single volume and to present the data he has collected in a simple, chronological form, embracing the entire life of the Church in this section.

As a basic reference work on the church in Louisiana, Baudier's history will perdure. Unfortunately, its 602 pages are typographically poor by present standards and were inadequately bound. More serious yet, only 1,500 copies were issued and there has been no second edition. Having spent many years in assembling a mass of material, the author regrettably did not devote a proportionate amount of time to evaluating it and to polishing his style, as well as infusing into the book that unity, emphasis and cohesiveness which characterized his subsequent writings. He was, of course, the first to admit that he had produced mainly the skeleton of the history of the church in Louisiana and that someone else would, in time, give it flesh, texture, and color. Perhaps in supplying this framework, Roger Baudier was more a competent chronicler than he was the professional historian so well described by Hilaire Belloc in *The Crisis of Civilization:* "Truth lies in proportion. You do not tell an historical truth by merely stating a known fact; nor even by stating a number of facts in a certain and true order. You can tell it justly only by stating the known things in the order of their values."

After the publication of his history, Roger Baudier became the leading and ultimate authority on ecclesiology in Louisiana. His selfless generosity in sharing his research findings; his promptness in answering exhaustively inquiries on church matters both ancient and

recent; his good humor in heated discussions on moot questions of local history; his skill as a raconteur which even the removal of his larynx could not dull; all these made him one of New Orleans' best loved and admired citizens and a highly appreciated member of the Catholic community. The seminarians, priests, nuns, and laymen whom he voluntarily assisted in the preparation of masters' theses and doctoral dissertations, the scholars with whom he corresponded on both sides of the Atlantic, and the historians who appealed to him for authoritative and definitive information, were legion. In recognition for these and other services, Notre Dame Seminary in New Orleans conferred on him an honorary doctorate in 1958. In 1943 Pope Pius XII had made him a Knight of St. Gregory and, in 1949, the French Ministry of Education conferred the title of Officer d'Academie with the Palmes Academiques. Within a month after he surrendered his post as editor of the diocesan paper, he was named "Official Chronicler of the Archdiocese of New Orleans" by Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel. Perhaps, of all the honors and accolades bestowed on him, this is the title which Joseph Roger Baudier, Sr., K.S.G., LL.D., cherished and deserved the most.

The Right Reverend Monsignor Henry C. Bezou
St. Patrick's Church, New Orleans

Book Reviews

THE LONGS OF LOUISIANA. By Stan Opotowsky. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1960, 271 pp. Illustrations, index. $4.50.)

This book places the emphasis on the Long family in Louisiana politics without detracting from Huey's part in founding the political dynasty. It is an unusual record. Senator Russell Long occupies the seat in the United States Senate once held by his father and mother. An uncle, George Long, was elected three times to Congress from the eighth district. An uncle, Earl Long, was elected governor twice, lieutenant governor once, and was Congressman-designate when he died. As lieutenant governor, Earl K. Long succeeded to the governorship on the resignation of Richard W. Leche, and served eleven months. Earl served as governor eight years and eleven months, which is longer than any other governor of the state of Louisiana. In addition, an aunt of Russell's was appointed to the state school board; Mrs. Earl Long was Democratic national committeewoman from Louisiana; and numerous cousins have served in various offices such as the state legislature, college president, and special appointive jobs. For thirty years, the Congressmen and United States Senators from Louisiana have had the Long blessings at some time, with one possible exception.

The author has told the fascinating story in the usual newspaper man's style, and has portrayed both the comic and tragic aspects. He has repeated most of the press reports and has added his own insight or evaluation of the character of Huey, Earl and Russell. Sometimes the author errored in attributing originality to Huey. An example (pp. 65-66) is the inscription on an East Carroll Parish tombstone:

> "Remember, men, as you pass by
> So as you are, so once was I.
> So as I am, you must be
> Prepare to die and follow me'.

"But the wife who put the tombstone up did not want to be bound by what was on it, and so, as a saving grace to herself, she wrote two more lines:

> " 'To follow you I'm not content
> Until I know which way you went'."

This inscription is on a tombstone in the churchyard at Jamestown, Virginia, and the old Negro adds the two lines for the amusement of visitors. A tourist guide in Boston repeats the identical story.

The author has an easy flowing style and he has produced a readable volume. He has done an excellent job of selecting events to enhance the readers interest. The lively narrative is marred by a number of slips. Only a few of these errors need be enumerated. On page 33 "Tilson" is used for "Tison"; "Huey's new superintendent of education" (p. 46) was T. H. Harris, who had been in office twenty years by 1928 when Huey was elected governor; "Southeastern College" (p. 121) when "Southwestern" was evidently meant; Earl was elected lieutenant governor in 1936 and not 1934 (p. 140) George W. Hardy, Jr. was mayor of Shreveport and not Alexandria (p. 245). Then the impression is left (p. 122) that James Monroe Smith's speculation was in Kentucky bourbon, whereas his big speculation was in wheat. The United States Supreme Court only gave Louisiana title to the land extending three miles into the Gulf of Mexico (p. 164), and Louisiana contended for ten and one half miles as was given to Texas and Florida.

It is doubtful whether the Long story is as amusing to informed natives of Louisiana as it is to residents of other states. But it will have a market.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute G. W. McGinty

THE FALL OF RICHMOND. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960. x, 144 pp. Illustrations. $4.00.)

In their enthusiasm to commemorate the years 1861 to 1865, writers are delving widely and deeply in search of something new. Since the main facts of these Civil War years have long ago been told and retold, significant segments are now being manified into full-length books—for instances, the day Lincoln was murdered, the second day at Gettysburg, and here the three days encompassing the fall of Richmond. It is not intended to imply that these activities are not worth while. Indeed, they may be subjects of great interest and importance, too. And so it is with Professor Patrick's effort.

It was a happy inspiration that led Patrick to record in these three lectures, delivered at Louisiana State University in the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lecture Series, the death throes of the Confederacy:

the first, "Evacuation, April 2"; the second, "The Day that Richmond Fell, April 3"; and the third, "Occupied City, April 4." With the play of an imagination properly restrained by the actual facts dug out of the contemporary records (official documents, newspapers, diaries, letters, reminiscences), Patrick gives a close-up account of what happened during these three days, even to note that Jefferson Davis, on his way to church, glanced down at his "polished but worn boots," and to opine what must have gone on in the minds of the people.

It is a moving account, both sentimentally at times and rushing on to what comes next. Such subjects as the destruction of the city, followed by rioting and looting mobs and the occupation of Richmond by Federal troops make high drama in this account. Personalities are sprinkled throughout, introduced in flesh and blood reality. There is Elizabeth Van Lew ("Crazy Bet"), the Union sympathizer and "Confederate traitor," who lasted out the war in Richmond, and the amusing account of the spunky Emma Mordecai in search of her mule and saddle, and, of course, Abraham Lincoln's visit on the third day; and the book closes with the vivid picture of his progress through the ruined city. *The Fall of Richmond* may well take its place as one of the best in the Fleming Lecture Series.

University of Georgia E. Merton Coulter

THE STORY OF THE ORIGINAL DIXIELAND JAZZ BAND. By H. O. Brunn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960. xx, 268 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. $5.00.)

This is the first authentic history of the New Orleans band which became nationally and internationally famous and which made the whole world jazz-conscious. As a new form of music, jazz was revolutionary, but the first recording of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band sold more than a million copies, and made the band nationally famous within a few months. This group of young men were the first to make a jazz phonograph record, first to broadcast jazz by radio, and first to carry jazz across the Atlantic. In all parts of the country, the commercial possibilities of jazz music were recognized by other orchestra leaders who converted from ragtime to jazz almost immediately.

The phenomenal success of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band obscured all other bands of the period. The most highly paid dance orchestra in the world, its success was the result of a unique com-

bination of timing, arrangement, and individual virtuosity. Today after more than four decades, it has become legendary.

Unfortunately, for the immediate future of jazz, the Dixeland Band's would-be competitors cared little about artistic musical value: the nosier they played, the more popular they became, or vice versa. Imitators were unable to divine the secret that set the original combination apart from all others for other jazz bands at that time were poor imitations and eventually were failures.

The five young men of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band—Nick LaRocca, Eddie Edwards, Larry Shields, Henry Ragas, and Tony Sbarbaro—began their rise to fame in Chicago. A combination of what proved to be happy circumstances brought the group to the Windy City. The meeting place for musicians in New Orleans was Exchange Place, between Canal and Bienville streets, especially Paul Blum's Cafe. Here young musicians of the day congregated to obtain jobs. The best contact for a job at this time was a parade band drummer by the name of Jack "Papa" Laine, who managed five different bands, and there was enough demand to keep them all simultaneously active. Nick LaRocca and Eddie Edwards frequently went to "Exchange Alley" to pick up an occasional job and it was Jack Laine who first recognized the ability of young LaRocca and made him the leader of his Number One band. Harry James, a Chicago cafe owner, came to New Orleans to witness a prize fight, and he heard one of Laine's bands. After the fight, he returned to Chicago, and in February, 1916, he wired Johnny Stein to bring his band to the Booster's Club in Chicago. After two weeks of rehearsals at Johnny Stein's house, the band, composed of Stein, LaRocca, Edwards, Nunez, and Ragas left for Chicago on March 1, 1916. Unfortunately, the Booster's Club had been closed by police order a few days before they arrived; but through the further efforts of Harry James, they secured an audition at Schiller's Cafe on the south side of the city. Their music "went over," and by eleven o'clock on Saturday, opening night, the club was filled to capacity. The band was soon the talk of Chicago night life. Stein's Dixieland Jazz Band was the forerunner of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band.

Despite the prosperity of Schiller's Cafe, no salary increases were forthcoming for Stein's Band, and the members found it increasingly difficult to live on twenty-five dollars a week. LaRocca and Edwards convinced Nunez and Ragas that the time had come to move. By the unanimous consent of these four musicians, it was decided to forsake Schiller's in favor of a higher-salaried engagement elsewhere in town.

Stein refused to take a chance on breaking the contract. An argument ensued, and on May 26, 1916, the rebellious four left Schiller's Cafe. Then it was that the Original Dixieland Jazz Band came into being.

At the instigation of their friend and admirer Al Jolson, the band migrated to New York City early in 1917. Within days after they made their first appearance at Reisenweber's Restaurant, they were in great demand all over the metropolitan area. When the first jazz record was released by Victor in March, 1917, the fame of the group spread rapidly across the continent. This record sold more than one million copies, topping by far the best efforts of Caruso and Sousa's Band, Victor's previous headliners.

The band then went to London where they played to packed crowds for more than a year and did a command performance for King George V. They were the hit of the Victory Ball, celebrating the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, attended by Marshal Foch, General Pershing, General Petain, and many of the crown heads of Europe.

Back in New York in the early twenties, the group maintained its position as the most sought-after jazz band. Hit record followed hit record. Church groups and eager politicians, however, accused jazz of corrupting the morals of the young. The Cotillo Act of 1922 outlawed jazz after midnight in New York City, thus ruining business for jazz musicians in the very capitol of the jazz world. These factors and dissension among members of the band led to the breakup of the band in 1924.

The band reorganized in 1936, and a *March of Time* film in 1937 gave a pictorial account of their spectacular career. Internal friction, however, again caused the breakup of the band, this time forever, in January, 1939.

The Story of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band is extremely well written, very readable, and most entertaining. In tracing the development of the band, the author presents a well-documented history of jazz music's stimulation of the "jazz age." The book has a number of very interesting photographs and lists in a series of tables personnel of early New Orleans bands and recordings of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band. The story of the band is really the story of Nick LaRocca, and the author had the advantage of having access to much of LaRocca's personal material. The book is a *must* for all jazz enthusiasts and a valuable addition to Louisiana social and cultural history.

Louisiana State University JOHN A. HUNTER

KATE: The Journal of a Confederate Nurse. By Kate Cumming. Edited by Richard Barksdale Harwell. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. xx, 307 pp. Name and place index only. $6.00.)

Kate Cumming, in addition to a warm heart and firm moral convictions, possessed an observing eye and an uncommon quantity of common sense. It is these latter qualities which make her journal a real treasure, for she portrays the fortunes of the Confederacy with remarkable acuity. Hers is no impartial account. She was firmly convinced that God and Right were on the side of the South, and she found difficulty in understanding why the Northerners fought. In the beginning she was sure the South would win, and even as the tide of war turned steadily in favor of the North, she still had difficulty conceiving that the South could lose.

Yet Kate Cumming was far more realistic than many of the refined and gentle members of her sex whose sense of delicacy would not permit them to work in a hospital, and who remained at home writing purple prose exhorting their men folk to die to the last man before giving up the blood-drenched soil of the South. Within the first few months of war, Kate Cumming had seen too many wounded die in agony, had seen too much gore, and had smelled the ghastly odor of festering wounds too often to have any illusions as to what dying meant. While she might wonder why, she recognized that rightly or wrongly, the Yankees honestly believed they were fighting to save the Union. As the weary and decimated Southern armies doggedly fought on through 1864, Kate Cumming's journal shows that while she still hoped for victory, even more she desperately wanted peace and an end to bloodshed.

Incredible as it may seem, with the South hopelessly short of manpower, Kate Cumming and her fellow nurses constantly had to fight harrassment from the men who felt that a woman's place was in the home and from women who maintained their virtue, moral courage, and lady-like qualities by never putting them to the test. In addition, Miss Cumming faced the opposition of her family, but once she had seen the desperate needs of the wounded, she never questioned where her duty lay. In September of 1863, Miss Cumming commented rather bitterly upon the letter of an Alabama lady to one of the newspapers urging all Southern men and women to do their duty. The lady had declared in her appeal that none but native Southerners should hold office in the Confederacy. As a Scottish-born adopted Southerner,

this was a sore point with Miss Cumming, who remarked acidly that "if the native southerners, who, when the war was first inaugurated, used to wear their blue badges, and cry 'secession and war to the knife,' had come forward as I know foreigners have done, we would not now be in need of the late earnest appeal for men, by our beloved President." As for those who constantly wrote and talked about duty, Miss Cumming noted wryly, "I only hope these ladies are *doing* as well as talking. . . ."

Other men and women have recorded the rise and fall of the South, but Miss Cumming's account has particular significance for its insight into the Confederate medical service. She witnessed and described the confusion, delays, and needless suffering of the early months; yet her journal also shows the rapid development of a remarkably effective medical corps. Any one familiar with the medical and surgical history of the war will recognize how faithfully she has portrayed it.

Her first experience with hospitals came in Corinth, Mississippi, in April of 1862. Here she noted in her diary one day that a young man whose arm was to be amputated was convinced that he would die, "as all who have had limbs amputated in this hospital have died," to which she added: "It is but too true; such is the case." To the despair of the surgeons, as the wounded poured in, terrible outbreaks of blood-poisoning spread through the army hospitals. As gangrene, erysipelas, and other infections mounted, surgeons on both sides in the early months of the war resorted to wholesale amputations with the result that fatalities soared.

Over and above the medical problems proper were those of organization. About a month after she began her work, Miss Cumming noted with horror one of the grim mistakes which occurred too frequently in the early days of the war. The hospital pharmacist, while taking a walk late one night, was attracted by the sound of groans. On investigating, he found a box car full of dead, dying, and badly wounded men which had been switched on to a sidetrack and forgotten.

Happily these instances became rarer as the war progressed, and the reader of the journal cannot help but be impressed by the way in which order emerged from the chaos and confusion. Within a few months, army hospitals were operating at peak capacity, and it is evident that Southern soldiers on the whole received the best medical

care available at the time. That this was accomplished in a time of shortages and in the face of steady retreats is all the more remarkable.

In glancing back over her work, this reviewer is amazed by the fact that Miss Cumming, whose participation in the war necessarily restricted her overall view, should have seen so clearly those truths which George Adams, H. H. Cunningham, and other modern historians have labored so hard and long to establish. That Kate Cumming's journal is an invaluable historical source is self-evident, but even more than this, it is a fascinating book. The editor and the Louisiana State University Press are to be highly commended.

Graduate School of Public Health
University of Pittsburg

JOHN DUFFY

GENERALS IN GRAY: Lives of the Confederate Commanders. By Ezra J. Warner. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. xxvii, 420 pp. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography. $7.50.)

Mr. Warner has successfully augmented the standard biographical reference sources. The effectiveness of his work may be fully appreciated after reading the cogent statement of the problem of adequate classification criteria in the introduction. Who was or was not a "general", C.S.A.? The author's selection of 425 Confederate officers of general grade would seem to be adequate.

While following a sterotyped model of presentation for each of the biographical sketches, a unique element is added by the collection of likenesses for each of the generals save one. In addition the scrupulous attention paid to the manner of death, place of death, and final resting place of these officers reflects the writer's meticulous efforts to obtain materials not previously published. In this regard, full use has been made of private papers and hitherto unexploited records.

Generals in Gray is perhaps most important for what is not stated directly. When the reader has a grasp of the book as a whole, several striking generalizations become apparent. The caliber of the men who rose to command in the Confederate armies and their post bellum accomplishments exemplified this point. It is significant to note that the same individuals that earned the wreath and stars of military leadership assumed places of civilian leadership after Appomattox. Few other leaders of a lost revolution can lay claim to such distinction.

Of particular interest to Louisiana historians is the twenty-odd Con-

federate general officers who were native sons or former residents or served in the Trans-Mississippi Department. The natives of Louisiana listed are: Henry Hopkins Sibley, Leroy Augustus Stafford, Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, Louis Hebert, Paul Octave Hebert, Jean Jacques Alexander Mouton and Francis Redding Tillou Nicholls.

Ezra J. Warner has created a valuable addition to the published biographical reference sources. This volume, produced by an amateur, a Civil War "buff", is gratifying evidence that the non-professional historian can escape the dilettant epithet.

Louisiana State University in New Orleans O. E. Lovell, Jr.

2426-B; 1-61

Appendix

ANNUAL MESSAGE

OF

Robert C. Wickliffe,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA,

TO THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

BATON ROUGE:
J. M. TAYLOR, STATE PRINTER.
1860.

MESSAGE

OF THE

Governor of the State of Louisiana.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives
of the State of Louisiana:

The condition of the State Treasury, according to the Report of the Auditor, shows a balance, on the 1st of January, 1860, of $133,696 09, to the credit of the General Fund.

The receipts into the State Treasury for the ensuing year for account of the General Fund, are estimated at $1,205,000. Making a sum total of $1,338,696 09.

The estimated expenditures for the same period, including the unexpended balances, amount to $1,174,553 32. Showing a balance to the credit of that fund, on the 31st of March, 1861, of $164,142 77; exhibiting a far more prosperous condition of the finances of the State than has been presented for eight years.

It will, therefore, be seen that, without increasing the rate of taxation, the annually increasing revenues of the State will enable her to meet promptly all the wants of Government.

INVESTMENTS OF TRUST FUNDS.

The following investments of the Trust Funds of the State were made during the year 1859:

Free School Fund.

111 City Bonds of $1,000 each, at a cost of.....$97,879 50

Redemption of State Debt Fund.

25 State Bonds, of $500 each, at a cost of.....$11,489 50

These Bonds, at their par value, having preference over all others.

BONDS ISSUED TO RAILROAD COMPANIES DURING THE YEAR 1859.

To the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad Company, 10 Bonds of $1,000	$10,000 00
Issued previously, 621 Bonds of $1,000	621,000 00
Total amount issued	$631,000 00
To the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad Company, (none issued).	
Issued previously, 884 Bonds of $1,000	$884,000 00
Total amount issued	$884,000 00
To the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas Railroad Company, 29 Bonds of $1,000	$29,000 00
Issued previously, 174 Bonds of $1,000	174,000 00
Total amount issued	$203,000 00
To the Baton Rouge, Opelousas and Grosse Tête Railroad, 5 Bonds of $1,000	$5,000 00
Previously issued	56,000 00
Total amount issued	$61,000 00

RECAPITULATION.

Bonds issued during 1859, 44 Bonds of $1,000	$44,000 00
Previously issued, 1,735 Bonds of $1000	1,735,000 00
Total	$1,779,000 00

ESTIMATE FILED IN AUDITOR'S OFFICE OF BONDS REQUIRED FOR THE YEAR 1860.

By the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas Railroad Company	$113,311 00
By the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad Company	111,000 00
By the Baton Rouge, Grosse Tête and Opelousas Railroad Company	19,000 00
By the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad Company	50,000 00
Total estimate 293 Bonds	$293,311 00

You will perceive that the total amount of Bonds issued by the State to Railroad Companies, amount to $1,779,000. No provision has yet been made for the ultimate payment of these Bonds at maturity, or for the payment of $483,000 Bonds issued to the New Orleans and Nashville Railroad Company, due 1st April 1867—and $100,000 Bonds issued to the Mexican Gulf Railroad, due in 1870. I now renew the recommendation in my last annual message, that the Legislature take the necessary steps to

provide for these debts of the State, by the creation of a *Reserved Fund*, to be appropriated to that purpose, and would suggest that this fund might be provided without the necessity of a resort to any increase of taxation. The Internal Improvement Tax Fund, which was created for the purpose of meeting the interest on the Bonds issued to the railroad companies, and fixed at one-fourth of one mill on the dollar, or 25 cents on $1,000, it is found, meets the interest on the Bonds, and leaves a surplus annually in the Treasury ; that surplus now amounts to near $100,000, and it is estimated will be increased by the 1st of January, 1861, about $50,000. By creating a fund for the "Redemption of Bonds issued to Railroad Companies," and investing the present surplus of the Internal Improvement Tax Fund in the Bonds of the State, annually appropriating the surplus that may appear to the Internal Improvement Tax Fund, and semi-annually investing in like manner the interest accruing on the Bonds held by the "Redemption Fund," and permanently fixing the Internal Improvement Tax at its present low rate, it is believed, will very nearly, if not entirely, liquidate the debt of the State for account of Railraad Companies.

RAILROADS.

But little progress has been made in the extension of our principal Railroads, since my last annual message. The New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad remains completed as far as Canton, Mississippi, and the road way formation, for the first twenty-six miles, north of Canton, will soon be ready for receiving the superstructure and iron.

This corporation has always held a leading position among our Railroad enterprises. Its form of organization, its financial schemes and its general policy have been more or less adopted by other companies, and, for the most part, with advantage. It has probably been managed with less prudence and economy than some other railroad works, but at the same time, the road has been pressed forward with zeal, energy and fertility of recourses under pressing difficulties, seldom equalled in any section of the country.

This Railroad is completed 206 miles, intersecting the Mississippi Central Railroad at Canton, thus securing to New Orleans an unbroken railroad communication with the whole railroad system of the United States, and at once realizing the anticipations of the original projectors.

Although so much has been accomplished, yet only one half the labor undertaken by the company has been performed ; their plan was to build a continuous railroad to the Tennessee River, 410 miles from the city of New Orleans. On reaching Canton, however, the Company find they have exhausted their available subscriptions, and have contracted, on long time, a bonded debt of $3,000,000. Under these circumstances, the Company are admonished that their franchises in Mississippi determine by law in March, 1862, and that it will be necessary to procure an extension of time, in order to recruit its resources, and establish a financial credit equal to the magni-

tude of the work yet to be performed. In view of these facts, propositions of the most unfriendly nature have been introduced into the Legislature of the State of Mississippi at its present sitting, whereby it is proposed that the necessary relief should not be granted, except under conditions of the most humiliating nature, and utterly subversive of the credit and future existence of the Corporation. What is most remarkable, is that this movement is not supported by the rival railroad interests of Mississippi, but by those who should be the fast friends of our enterprise, those who represent the counties traversed by the proposed Railroad, north of Canton, those who, of all others, are most interested in, and anxious for the extension of the Railroad, impatient, as it would appear, at unavoidable delay, suspicious of the honest purposes of the Company to complete their work, and perform faithfully other obligations to the State of Mississippi, this unnatural course has, it may be inferred, been adopted with the view of intimidating the Corporation, driving it from its manifest policy, and thereby making it more certain of local interest.

I will be able to lay before you at an early day the documentary evidence which has suggested the foregoing remarks. No Legislature is responsible for matter which may be laid before it, however unreasonable or unjust, but only for its action on such matter. I feel the highest confidence that the Legislature of Mississippi will not knowingly do an unjust or unfriendly act towards this Corporation ; but in view of the magnitude of the interest involved in maintaining, unimpaired, the credit and efficiency of the Company, and placing its corporate perpetuity and the validity of its contracts beyond all future doubt or cavil, I would earnestly recommend that the State of Mississippi be officially requested to grant to said company sufficient additional time to complete their railroad, and that no forfeiture of franchise shall attach to any portion of the said railroad which has been or may be hereafter faithfully completed.

The New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad is completed to Berwick Bay, where it unites with a tri-weekly line of steamers which run from the Bay to Galveston. The Board of Directors have placed a considerable amount of additional work under contract, west of Berwick Bay, and have a well-matured financial scheme for the completion of their great enterprise, which terminatns at Thompson's Bluffs, on the Sabine River; after crossing the river, the New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad unites with the Texas Great Western, and the Sabine and Rio Grande Railroads; the former running North-westwardly and connecting with the Southern Pacific Railroad, at its crossing on the Brazos River ; and the latter southwestwardly, nearly parallel with the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, to San Antonio. The prudent management of the affairs of this company and the liberality of the State of Texas, in the granting of franchise, subscriptions and substantial endowments to her

railroads leading to our western border, secures a bright prospect for the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad Company, inestimable blessings to a large portion of the people of Lousiana and Texas, and oriental wealth to the commerce of New Orleans.

The Vicksburg, Shreveport and Texas Railroad is progressing. The first twenty miles from Vicksburg are in daily use, and it is anticipated that the first grand division of the road will be finished and ready for transporting the next cotton crop of that district. The construction of the entire line of the railroad to its union with the Southern Pacific Railroad on the Texas border, has been contracted for by responsible parties, and the work will be prosecuted as rapidly as the financial abilities of the company will permit. It is true much less work has been done on this line of railroad than on the two railroads before reviewed, but it must be remembered that the Vicksburg and Shreveport Railroad passes through a comparatively new and thinly settled country, and that it has not, like the Great Northern and Great Western Railroads, received powerful aid in the form of private and city corporate subscription. As the road progresses the valuable donations of public lands, made by Congress (though impaired by Act of Congress of 3d March, 1857,) will become valuable assets for future extension; besides the country is increasing daily in population and wealth, which additional resources, taken in connection with the immense western travel which will follow the completion of the Southern railroad from Vicksburg towards Montgomery, and the extension of the Southern Pacific, westward, must at no distant day insure the completion of this great highway, than which none in the State has been conceived in a higher spirit of self-reliant enterprise, or prosecuted with more prudence, ability and industry.

The Baton Rouge and Grosse Tête Railroad, when regarded in connection with the proposed New Orleans and Baton Rouge Railroad, and its present contemplated extension towards Alexandria and Opelousas, rises to a high position in our railroad system. The road has been well managed from the beginning, and all its available resources will be faithfully applied to the extension of the road beyond the Bayou Grosse Tête. The Directors of this enterprise have adopted the true policy, which should govern all our railroad companies; they have increased their negro forces so as to be independent of other labor, and are now most actively engaged in the proposed extension.

It is a source of gratification to inform you that, within my knowledge, the State has not in a single instance granted its aid to an unworthy enterprise, or to one which is not at present entirely solvent, and which will not realize all the benefits anticipated by the most sanguine projectors. In due time I will place before you the various reports of all the railroads in which the State is a stockholder.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF CURRENCY—THE BANKS.

It affords me great satisfaction again to place before the Legislature the workings of our Banking system, as exhibited in the accompanying report of the Board of Currency for the past year. With the fixed specie basis, not regulated by the fluctuations of commerce, it may be proudly said that our laws regulating the currency, have secured for the State of Louisiana, the true Federal standard, wherewith to measure the products of our industry and of our vast interior trade, and our paper money has in *reality* become the certificates of gold and silver, convertible on demand.

I hope the Legislature will watch, with a jealous eye, any intentional deviation from the wise provisions of law governing our Banks, or any change in the checks and safeguards thrown around our present Banking system. Whilst our laws are stringent in their provisions as regards the management of our monetary institutions, the security thus given to the public, has in no wise destroyed their efficiency in affording the customary facilities to commerce, as evidenced by their regular annual dividends of from eight to fifteen per cent. The Act passed by the last Legislature, requiring weekly statements to be made by the Banks through the Board of Currency, has been put into opperation and found to work well. This regulation gives additional guarantees, on the part of the Banks, by causing the balances to be paid every Saturday in coin, under the immediate superintendence of the State authorities, instead of leaving this important matter to the voluntary action of the Banks.

No addition to our Banking capital has been made during the year; but the Citizens' Bank has established a Branch at Shreveport, to which it has transferred $100,000 of its capital. The location of this Branch, in the center of an immense agricultural country, shut out, during low water, from all communication with the city of New Orleans, will doubtless prove of great advantage to a large portion of our North-western parishes, in facilitating the movement of their crop to market.

STATE ENGINEER.

I refer you for information to the general report of the State Engineer for the operations of that department, up to the 2d day of January, 1860, the day on which the present Board of Public Works organized. From his report you will at once perceive the indebtedness of that department, and the necessity of prompt action on the part of the Legislature to discharge that indebtedness. This will facilitate the new Board in their future transactions, and at the same time terminate finally the connection of that officer with that branch of government, with which he has been so long and favorably connected.

SWAMP LAND COMMISSIONERS.

The reports from the four Swamp Land Commissioners will place you in

full possession of their labors for the past year. Many of the important works ordered by the last Legislature have been completed, and some are in an incomplete state, owing to their magnitude and the shortness of the season adapted to Levee work.

Upon the very important subject of Levees, I most respectfully renew the recommendations made by me last year to your predecessors. No object of greater moment can claim your attention.

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

This elaborate document will give all the information necessary to a full understanding of the condition of our Public Schools. The entire system of public education requires remodeling.

STATE SEMINARY OF LEARNING.

I earnestly recommend to your favorable consideration the State Seminary of Learning, established and now under military organization near Alexandria.

The State of Louisiana has been most fortunate in the selection of the corps of Professors, who now have charge of this Institution. An annual appropriation from the General School Fund of twenty-five thousand dollars, would endow this Institution and place it upon a lasting and solid foundation. In consideration of which the Institution could educate forty-eight young men annually, (one from each parish of the State) who should bind themselves, after the completion of their education, to teach a common school for two years. By this arrangement we would have teachers born and reared in our midst, identified in feeling and interest with our institutions, and not be, as we are now, dependent upon other States for public school teachers.

I urge upon the Legislature the passage of a law fixing, at once, the military character of this Institution, and recommend the necessary appropriation to establish and build, in connection therewith, a depot for arms and munitions of war.

NORMAL SCHOOL, NEW ORLEANS.

Your particular attention is invited to the report of the Directors of the Normal School of New Orleans, embraced in the report of the Superintendent of Public Education. This school is certainly worthy of your liberality and fostering care.

STATE LIBRARY.

I cannot close my last annual message without paying a passing notice to Mr. Droz, the able and most efficient Librarian; a worthy, old public servant, who has devoted the best years of his life to his department, who by his activity and industry, has given to the State of Louisiana a Library of which she may well be proud.

BOARD OF HEALTH.

The report of the Board of Health, which I place before you, presents many interesting features and is well worthy of your consideration.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind continues to prosper, and now ranks among the most flourishing in the United States. Industrial employments have been introduced, and among them, as required by Act of the last Legislature, printing; in which the pupils have made remarkable proficiency. Should you employ their willing and grateful labor, as I respectfully recommend, in the publication of a Library, for the use of the District Schools, the otherwise necessary expenditures of this Institution would be greatly reduced, and an immense benefit conferred on all children attending our common schools.

The report of the Insane Asylum, at Jackson, will place you in full possession of information relative to its management for the past year, and its wants for the present. I cannot forego the pleasure of saying that this Institution is the best managed, and the cheapest Institution of the kind in the Union, and speaks well for the liberality and generosity of the State of Louisiana.

I commend to your most favorable consideration the report of the Board of Administrators of the Charity Hospital. The Board of Directors and officers of that Institution have discharged their trust with great fidelity.

TRIAL OF SLAVES CHARGED WITH CAPITAL OFFENSES.

I have heretofore called the attention of the Legislature to the law in relation to the trial of slaves charged with capital offenses. This subject, which I deem of great importance, has failed to attract the attention of your predecessors. It now earnestly demands and should receive your attention. The manner in which slaves are now tried, by a special tribunal established for that purpose, results in sending many of them to the State Prison for offenses slight and trivial, whereas if the administration of justice was, in these cases, confined to the District Courts and juries, punishment would be as certain. I would recommend the repeal of the law which inflicts upon a slave the punishment of confinement in the State Penitentiary.

FREE NEGROES, AND SLAVES WHO HIRE THEIR OWN TIME.

Act No. 87, passed by the last General Assembly to prevent the migration of free negroes from other States into this, though thus far zealously enforced, has not accomplished its object. The many means of avoiding the provisions of this Act, by the designing and cunning, will readily present themselves, upon even a casual examination of the law.

There is another subject to which I would here call your attention. With the best intentions, certainly without calculating the evil tendency

of the practice, many of our slave holders have fallen into the pernicious custom of allowing them to hire their own time, or, in other words, extending to them liberties and privileges totally inconsistant with their proper condition and good government. The influence of such example on our slave population is most ruinous, and should be checked by the most stringent laws, made to reach both master and slave.

TERMS OF THE SUPREME COURT.

The law which compels the Supreme Court to hold three separate terms, out of the City of New Orleans, requires amendment. It would be well for the Legislature to fix by law upon some one point out of the City, at which the three terms might be merged into one. This would give to our Judges that relaxation from their arduous duties which is naturally demanded.

GOVERNOR'S MANSION.

I would urge upon the General Assembly the propriety of providing, at the Capital, an Executive Mansion.

On the eve of resigning into the hands of my successor, the duties and responsibilities of the office of Governor, I feel that I can, without indelicacy make this suggestion, and need only say in its support, that it would be but becoming in the great State of Louisiana to offer to her Chief Magistrates, during their terms of administration, a residence suitable to the position.

NORTHERN AGENTS.

Allow me to present, for your consideration, an increasing, rapidly growing evil.

In almost every town and village of our State, are to be seen agents, representatives of large business houses, from the North, who are daily selling, from samples exhibited, goods, wares and merchandize, without paying that license for the support of State government which is demanded and annually collected from our own merchants. I recommend the passage of stringent laws to prevent this species of traffic.

HASTY LEGISLATION.

I would most respectfully impress upon the consideration of the Legislature the evils attending hasty Legislation. It may, with perfect safety be said, that three-fourths of the Acts of the General Assembly which are presented to the Governor for his signature, are passed within the last ten days of each session, thus forcing upon him the duty of approving or withholding his signature to Acts it is physically impossible for him to read with that care and attention which judicious legislation requires; this suggestion is forced upon me by the experience of the last four years; it is not just that this responsibility should be thrown upon the Executive.

FEDERAL RELATIONS.

I had hoped to retire from the exalted position with which the people of the commonwealth have honored me, without extended reference to national affairs or national politics. I had fondly wished that I might bring my administration to a close with a simple, yet favorable allusion to those subjects. It is, however, with profound regret that I feel constrained to announce to you my hopes in this respect have been blighted, and that I deem it my solemn duty, as your Chief Magistrate and representative of the people, to enlarge upon a disagreeable topic. Its importance demands my best attention and commands your closest consideration.

The times that are upon us are rapidly precipitating a crisis which must be met manfully. In any event, I know that the people of Louisiana will not be found wanting in a practical vindication of their assailed rights, and a proper defense of their honor. The times and the crisis to which I have alluded, I apprehend will bring into requisition all the qualities indispensable to the vindication of the one and the defense of the other. The character of Louisiana has not yet been stained with servility or dishonor, and I know her people in the present, like her people in the past, would gladly accept any alternative which carries with it honor and insures self-respect, than take a position which might secure temporary profit at the sacrifice of every principle of manhood, every element of independence, every attribute of that lofty sovereignty upon which we have so justly prided ourselves. And when it is taken into consideration that submission will hardly assure temporary security—for compacts with cravens are invariably broken by the stronger party the very instant they have answered their purposes—that aggression after aggression invariably succeeds each compromise of constitutional right and submission to wrong—it is not possible that Louisiana will abate one jot or tittle of her inalienable prerogatives, or swerve in the least from the true, just, and patriotic position she has ever nobly occupied.

My views in regard to the most important home questions are well known to the public and to you. In my inaugural address, and in the annual messages I have since had the honor to lay before the General Assembly, pursuant to the requirements of the Constitution, I have expressed myself at such length and in such a manner as I deemed appropriate. My opinions, therein expressed, have undergone no change, save that which facts and unmistakable circumstances naturally work in the minds of all patriotic citizens. He who learns nothing from the current of passing events, and clings exclusively to the memories of a purer age, and obstinately closes his eyes, heart and brain to the stern actualities of the present, is an unsafe counselor, and if invested with authority, would lead any State or nation into disgrace or ruin, if circumstances permitted the exercise of his destructive proclivities. As times change, men change, and as men

make up the aggregate of communities and nations; communities and nations must also change, to meet well the emergencies of the times as they present themselves. Nothing is immutable, save the laws of God and nature.

For more than a quarter of a century a sectional warfare, based upon hatred of the institution of slavery, has been waged by the North upon the South. At the outset, the members of this despicable organization were contemptible in number and in intellect; and their fanatical, treasonable and atrocious promulgations were deemed as fit subjects for mirth in both sections of the Confederacy. At that time each State respected its constitutional obligations, the comity of the respective sovereignties was maintained, brotherhood and good feeling prevailed well nigh universally—all the South requires now, or wanted then, was the simple observance of the organic compact, which was cheerfully rendered on all sides—the most benificient system of government the earth ever knew, when rightfully administered: a union of sovereignties under a confederated head, armed with expressly delegated powers, worked so beautifully and harmoniously that it was the wonder and admiration of the world. It grieves me to say that this happy picture has been changed; that the small band of fanatics, once only deemed fit subjects for laughter, have grown into a powerful organization; that the cloud, once a mere speck upon the horizon, has attained such dimensions that it blackens the skies of the majority section of the Confederacy; that sovereign States, through their Legislatures and Governors, have passed laws which set at defiance the Constitution of the United States; which nullify the laws of Congress; which trample under foot the decisions of the Federal Court of last resort, and which openly contemn the executive authority of the government, when exercised in strict conformity to the demands of the Constitution. All this is done too without cause, provocation or warrant of any kind. The slave holding States have not wronged, nor attempted to wrong their Northern brethren in any manner, and in all controversies they have been the first to yield; they have compromised and compromised, for the sake of peace, when they had rights and interests at stake and the North had none—but every yielding, and each compromise, has been followed by fresh demands and renewed aggression, until fanaticism, grown bold by our yielding and compromises, as well as by the wondrous growth of its power in the North, now says in the Federal Senate, in the Hall of the House of Representatives and from the Legislatures of most of the non-slaveholding States, backed by an overwhelmning preponderance of the masses, almost sufficient to elect a President, that not another slave State shall ever be admitted into the Union—no matter what the circumstances of the case—no matter what the obligations imposed by one common organic law.

A great, bad man—great in intellect and fearfully great in influence—the foreodained candidate of the Black Republicans for the Presidency,

not twelve months ago announced, in his place in the United States Senate, that his party would soon have control of the Government, and that they would then "re-organize the Supreme Court" in such a manner as would lead to decisions agreeable to themselves. Afterwards, in several speeches, made in his own State, on the eve of a general election, in presence of immense assemblages of the people, he distinctly declared that there was an irrepressible conflict between the free labor of the North and the slave labor of the South, and that the South must become free or the North slave. A few days after the delivery of these addresses, the government of the mightiest State of the Union passed, by an overwhelming majority of the people, into the hands of those who agreed with him in opinion.

What is true of New York, is true when applied to many of the non-slaveholding States; the gloomy pall of Abolitionism overshadows nearly all; and, if we are to take the past as a criterion for the future, it is almost useless to look beyond Mason and Dixon's line for relief, unless the South presents, for the Presidency, a man so unexceptionable as to command respect and support among all good men. And with this, as her ultimatum, the last alternative she will ever present: "Shall this man, unobjectionable in other respects, be rejected merely because his home is in the South? If so, we should know it, and the sooner the better."

But one party—the Democratic party—remains to fight the battle for the Constitution and the Union, as our forefathers framed it. That party, however, notwithstanding its services to the country, the great men it has produced, its claims to general support, its magnificent past and its splendid promises for the future, is in a minority in the majority section of the Confederacy. Its banner has been bravely defended, and there are still gallant spirits in the North who will fight around it to the death. Yet its folds, almost everywhere in that section of the country, are trailed in the dust of defeat. It were idle to close our eyes to these facts—and what would be derelict in a citizen becomes criminal in a public officer. I am determined to discharge *my* duty—the rest remains with you—and to your wisdom and discretion I confidently commit it.

The Harper's Ferry disturbance is a case in point, which significantly indicates the mode of warfare which constantly accumulating thousands propose to wage upon us. The numbers actively engaged in it were insignificant; but when we take into consideration that they committed the crimes of treason and murder, and were provided to equip with arms for the work of death, several thousand slaves or other confederates; that the general press and people of the extreme North, on various grounds, sympathised with the traitors and murderers and solicited their pardon, we cannot close our eyes to the inauspicious condition of affairs.

The State of Virginia has nobly vindicated her laws and brought the traitors to condign punishment. This is gratifying, although it was nothing more than was to be expected from the proud old mother of sages and

statesmen. But, whilst we acknowledge and commend all this, is there not something more than words required from the less exposed slaveholding States? The battle for our rights, and in defense of our institutions, is to be fought, must be fought, in the border States where slavery exists. It would be cowardice, as well as penuriousness, to leave them to fight the battle alone, which, in more than one sense, is our battle as much as theirs; we should give them actual sympathy, positive support. Virginia, a slaveholding border State, has been invaded. The sovereignty of Virginia has been properly vindicated by Virginia. To do this, she asked, needed no assistance. But it cost her money to crush and punish the enemy of the South. To assure her, as well as the other border slave States, of the active cooperation of Louisiana; to show them that we recognise their cause as our cause, I recommend the immediate appropriation by the Legislature of twenty five thousand dollars, as Louisiana's quota toward these expenses, accompanied by a solemn pledge that our State will stand by her sister Southern States to the utmost extent of the men and means she can command, in any course they may see proper to adopt to secure our Constitutional rights.

Having now, as briefly as possible, glanced at affairs as they exist, it may be expected that I should suggest some remedy. It is said that there is a cure for all ills; whether there is a cure for the fanaticism which afflicts the Northern portion of the country, I have my doubts. Unless its course be checked there can be no restoration of that good feeling between the two sections, which is the only hope for the preservation of the Union in its integrity. The common enemy must, therefore, be confronted and beaten back; his approach must not be waited for; that, in my opinion, would be ruinous. I believe it has been the fault of the South from the beginning; had we never compromised away a constitutional right, we would not be situated as we now are.

I recommend a complete re-organization of the militia. Pass a law so clear, stringent and comprehensive that evasion would be impossible, which would compel the formation and drill of one or more volunteer companies, in proportion to population, in every parish in the State. Let the State provide them with arms and establish armories. The State should provide for the equipment of her own men, in all respects, within herself, so as to be independent, should the hour of trial come, of all outside assistance. A sovereignty that is incapable of doing this, or being capable, is, under the present circumstances, unwilling, is unfit to exercise rights of sovereignty. I am sure Louisiana will never prove recreant, hence the generality of my recommendations. If my suggestions are carried out, the State will be put upon a war footing, at a small expense, and will be prepared to meet any emergency.

I would further recommend that the General Assembly pass laws for the encouragement of domestic industry and enterprise of every description.

We are a nation within ourselves, superabundantly endowed with every element of wealth and greatness, provided it is fostered and promoted by the wisdom of its Legislation and the skill and industry of our citizens.

Several of the slave States have proposed, in a certain contingency, a Congress or convention for consultation and the adoption of means of mutual safety. As the meeting of such a body would violate no law, infringe no right, and might be advantageous, I recommend that Louisiana meet her Southern sister States in that or any other body she may be called upon to participate in. It would be manifest discourtesy in her to refuse to counsel in the hour of danger with those whose interests are identical with her own.

It has been said, in view of the embittered hostility of the North to us and the institution of slavery, that retaliatory measures should be adopted in self-defense. In this there is much reason and truth, and if Southern Legislatures can retaliate, without a violation of law, they will be recreant to their duty if they do not do so. The North, its population considered, is a dependent section of the country; it exports comparatively nothing of its own products, and imports nearly every thing. It trades on other people's capital. It lives by the use of the products of the South—without the patronage of the South, well nigh universal bankruptcy would ensue. The South, importing hardly any thing, exports, in fact, three-fourths of the products of the country, which pay the debts of the country. If the cotton crop of the South were to fail, for a single year, there would not be a solvent bank capitalist, manufacturer or ship owner in the entire North. No business man will controvert this proposition.

How are we to retaliate?

Distinguished jurists, men learned in the law, have expressed the deliberate opinion that the Legislature of any State can, by a system of licensing, or by special taxation, inflict such discrimination upon goods, *when exposed for sale* within their jurisdiction, as will amount to absolute prohibition. On this point I express no positive opinion, and only suggest the subject, it having been favorably mentioned in high quarters. Yet, I deem it worthy of your consideration, for if you find the proposition entirely legal, and conclude to adopt it, it will have the effect of making New Orleans the largest importing, as she is now the largest exporting, city on the continent. State discrimination against every thing manufactured in those States warring upon our institutions, or imported there and brought here, which would approach the line of prohibition, would necessarily superinduce direct importation.

I need not dilate upon the immense advantages which would enure to the State by making New Orleans the great importing, as she now is the exporting metropolis of the Union. She would immediately become the center of exchanges, and her revenues to the treasury, at the present rates of taxation, would, in a decade, far exceed those now paid by the entire State.

And now, gentlemen, through you, I tender to a generous people, the thanks of a grateful heart.

ROBERT C. WICKLIFFE.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

Governor Thomas O. Moore,

DELIVERED JANUARY 23, 1860,

TO THE

LEGISLATURE

OF THE

STATE OF LOUISIANA.

BATON ROUGE:
J. M. TAYLOR, STATE PRINTER.
1860.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

GOVERNOR THOMAS O. MOORE.

Gentlemen of the General Assembly, and Fellow-Citizens:

I assume the office of Chief Magistrate of the State of Louisiana with unaffected distrust of my ability to meet its responsibilities so as to give full satisfaction to you. It was with real reluctance that I consented to be a candidate, and the people thought fit to elect me without effort or solicitation on my part. Owing no obligation to particular persons, or particular interests, my thanks for the honor conferred upon me are due to my fellow-citizens belonging to the same political communion with myself, and to the people of the State at large, and it shall be the earnest effort of my administration to deserve the support of all.

In accepting the nomination of the Democratic party, I necessarily stood pledged to spare no exertion to vindicate its principles and establish its measures. It is my conscientious conviction that by them alone can the Federal and State Governments be safely administered. Its policy in Federal affairs has supported the interests of all sections, elevated the national character, and enlarged the boundaries of the Union. In State affairs it has respected the rights of all persons and of all classes, and with unshrinking fidelity protected them from aggression and proscription. These are the true objects of all just government, and to these its policy will be directed. I can best advance the public good by steadfastly adhering to the principles by which these results have been produced.

The Constitution makes it the duty of the Governor to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and the power of appointment has been confided to him to a limited extent to assist him in the performance of this duty. His responsibility for the conduct of public officers must be measured by

his power over their appointment. He cannot be held accountable for what may be done or omitted by those to whom he has given no trust and whom he cannot remove. But he should be held to a strict account for the character of those whom he may select for public employment. I shall invite a rigid scrutiny into the manner in which this, as indeed all other official duties are performed. I will not, knowingly, appoint to office any man who is not qualified to discharge every duty belonging to it, with knowledge, skill and fidelity. Integrity and competency must be essential prerequisites to the appointment of public officers. These being fully shown, reasonable weight may be permitted to political considerations ; mere partizanship constitute no claim upon the appointing power. The support of a party for reward is a degradation—not a merit—for the principles of a party can only be considered valuable where they contribute to the general good. As Governor of Louisiana, it will be my first duty to see that the public service under my control is conducted with honesty and capacity.

Economy in the administration of a Government ought always to be insisted upon, and retrenchment, in all cases, when it can wisely be made. Unfortunately a disposition to retrench the Treasury expenditures is usually directed to branches of service in which it is least demanded. There is really no just cause of complaint against the salaries of the officers of the State, yet these are usually attacked when there is a desire to curtail the public expenses, and they are attacked because all are familiar with them, and few know where to look for the leaks that empty the Treasury. But prodigality rarely exhibits itself on the surface of Government expenses. It is in the details of administration that extravagance is to be detected, and whenever the subject is properly investigated, it may be found that large sums of money are wasted which could be saved to the Treasury by the observance of a correct system and the exaction of a stern accountability. I shall take pains to call the attention of the General Assembly to such reforms in all the departments of Government as the people may demand. The subject belongs, particularly, to the legislative branch of the Government, and my hearty co-operation will be given to every measure that will tend to lessen the public burthens. But nothing of any value can be accomplished without a careful scrutiny and a rigid inquiry, conducted with a steady determination to expose extravagance whenever and wherever discovered, and then with an unflinching hand to apply the appropriate remedy.

But while urging frugality in the administration of the Government, let it not be supposed that I am unwilling to aid in such judicious expenditures as will develop the resources of the State. Louisiana has been something of a laggard in the career of internal improvement. It is within a brief period that railroads have been commenced under the auspices of the State ; and even to this day, not a dollar has been spent for a geolo-

gical survey of the State, an object of primary importance to every parish within her borders. Under the guarded provisions of our Constitution, it is almost impossible for the State to fall into any very serious error in aiding in the construction of useful works. The danger lies less in extending constitutional assistance to corporations for building railroads, than in the careless execution of the laws by which the State becomes a corporator. Unless studiously watched, the restrictions imposed by the organic law will be evaded by the corporations, and the State not only exposed to loss, but the spirit, if not the letter of the Constitution, be violated.

A careful review of our State affairs and a vigilant examination into our resources, is more incumbent on us now than heretofore, in view of the disturbed state of our relations with a large portion of the people of other parts of the Union.

Louisiana has always been moderate and conservative in her sentiments. She has never at any period of our national history countenanced extreme opinions or violent measures. Her citizens have ever been loyal lovers of the Union of these States as made and administered by our fathers. If her devotion to the Union shall be weakened, it will be because of the intolerance of a sectional majority ; and if it be ever obliterated it will be because that intolerance has resulted in practical oppression, or produced a state of things to which no sensitive people can submit.

But loyal as Louisiana is known to be to the Federal Union, it must not be forgotten that she is something more than a mere State of the Union. She is, by her position, by her principles, and by her choice, a Southern slaveholding State, and events seem to be hastening to a crisis the relation which those States bear to the Union, in which her duty to herself and to her sister States may be brought into painful conflict with her devotion to the Union. A great party has grown up at the North and West whose sole bond of union is animosity to the institutions of fifteen of the States of the Union. So bitter is this hostility felt towards the slavery that these fifteen States regard as a great social and political blessing, that it exhibits itself in legislation for the avowed purpose of destroying the rights of slaveholders guaranteed by the Constitution and protected by acts of Congress. Popular addresses, Legislative resolutions, Executive communications, the press and the pulpit, all inculcate hatred against us and war upon the institution of slavery, an institution interwoven with the very elements of our existence. The fanaticism engendered in the popular mind by the doctrines taught and the enmity excited, manifested itself very recently by an irruption of armed men in the State of Virginia, whose object was to incite insurrection, and whose means were treason and murder. The abrupt end to which the conspiracy was brought, and the sharp, quick and just punishment of the conspirators, proved that the South had not over-estimated th. stability of her institutions. But the apologies and eulogiums which developed at the North a wide-spread sympathy with the

felons, have deepened the distrust in the permanency of our Federal Government, and awakened sentiments favorable to a separation of the States.

The representatives of these feelings against us and our domestic institutions are now struggling to obtain possession of the Government, so that Federal law may illustrate their doctrines, and Federal power enforce them. I can not contemplate without the most serious alarm the condition to which the Southern States will be reduced, if a political party, organized only in one section of the country, and without followers, or sympathizers in the other, should obtain possession of the Government, when the only foundation on which that party rests, is detestation of slavery, and when the minority slave section will be without the power to protect itself through the instrumentality of Federal authority. When that time arrives the Southern States will be practically without representation in the Federal Government, and the South occupy the position of subjugated States.

The Union can not last without a recognition of the vital principles of the Constitution, that the States are equal in the Confederacy. Every State must be permitted to determine her own social institutions, and left to the enjoyment of them in peace ; and the Territories, the common property of the States, must be freely opened to settlement by the people of the confederated equals. The insulting demand that there shall be no more slave States, must be abandoned, because it not only tends to make us politically inferior, but because it brands as a disgrace an institution which we prize as a blessing. So a like offense is offered and wrong inflicted on the South by the heresy of popular sovereignty, by which slaveholders are to be excluded from the Territories, by the unfriendly legislation of the Territorial Governments. The Supreme Court of the United States has settled the principle that must rule : neither Congress nor the Territorial Governments can constitutionally exclude slavery from the Territories. A southern man can therefore rightfully take his slaves into the Territories. As the Territorial Governments are without the legal power to exclude slavery, it is difficult to understand how they can be allowed to do indirectly that which they are prohibited from doing directly. It is the duty of Congress to protect the property which is taken to the Territories under the sanction of the Constitution, and to guard that property from the neglect or unfriendliness of the Territorial Government, which is but the creature of Congress. The Southern States deny nothing to the Northern which they claim for themselves. They insist only on equality, and it remains only to be decided in the struggle now pending whether this equality will be conceded to them—and I am one who does not despair that it will.

There is a patriotic minority in the non-slaveholding States, who are faithfully upholding the rights of the South and battling for the maintenance of the Constitution. The entire South makes common cause with this minority, constituting a great national party, all striving to conquer and annihilate that sectional party, whose success will immediately jeopard

and finally sever the Union. The triumph of this great national organization will be the beginning of a return to that "perfect union," that "general welfare," and that "domestic tranquility," which the Constitution of the United States was intended to promote and secure. Such a triumph would greatly restore the old harmony and awaken again the old sentiments—and it is the last hope of those, who, like myself, desire to see the Union perpetuated. Louisiana does not wish to see these States severed from their present political connection. But no man who has watched the course of the public mind can fail to have observed that in Louisiana, as in the other Southern States, the progress of disunion feeling has been marked and rapid. I am sure, however, that all concur in this, that Louisiana, dearly as she loves the Union, will never separate herself from her sister slave States. Identity of interests and the sympathy growing out of like social institutions, would without the compulsion of political necessity, lead her to take whatever position the dangers of the times might demand her to assume. The dangers are grave and indeed appalling; and it is proper that we prepare to meet them, as our sister slave States propose to do, by a thorough organization of our militia system. This would be judicious under any circumstances, and its good effects will be enduring, even if the present emergency pass away. It is my belief, as well as my hope, that it will, and that there will yet be allowed to all the States independence and equality, and that harmony and peace will be restored to our people without a sacrifice of interest or a loss of honor.

SPECIAL MESSAGE

OF

Thomas O. Moore,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA,

TO THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

DECEMBER, 1860.

BATON ROUGE:
J. M. TAYLOR, STATE PRINTER.
1860.

S12976
22

MESSAGE

OF THE

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana:

I have convened your Honorable Bodies at this unusual time to consider the condition of our present, and future relations to the Federal Government, before the control of that Government is lodged in the hands of a party, whose avowed principles are in antagonism to the interests, the dignity, and the well being of Louisiana. The occasion calls for grave deliberation, wise counsel, cool judgment, and manly action. It will be your province to decide whether its importance justifies the assembling of the people, through their Delegates, in extraordinary Convention, to determine, in that sovereign capacity, the remedy proper to be applied to existing evils. Never have we been more in need of the protecting care and wise guidance of that Divine Providence, whose aid and influences it becomes States as well as individuals to invoke.

An event has now occurred of the gravest import to the people of this whole country, but especially to those of the Southern States. Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin having received the indorsement of the political Party calling itself Republican, the fundamental principle of which is an unreasoning and fanatical hostility to slavery, have now been elected to the two highest offices in our Federal Government, by a purely sectional vote, and in contempt of the earnest protest of the other section, that such election would be considered evidence of a deliberate design to pervert the powers of the Government to the immediate injury and ultimate destruction of its peculiar institution. Thirty years ago, the public expression of such opinions as are now entertained and avowed by these two men, in any part of this country, outside of New England, would have insured to their utterer swift and ignominious punishment. The representative man of those opinions, chosen as the instrument to effect their practical operation upon the administration of the National Government, is now about to occupy the chair of Washington. So great has been the change of public sentiment in the non-slaveholding States of this Confederacy upon a question, vital to our interests, and interwoven with every ramification of our social system.

21234.18

I feel myself oppressed by the magnitude of the issue involved in the action of our State at this crisis. I have beheld with admiration the beautiful and well-proportioned fabric, made by our forefathers' hands, of a Union of Equals, under safeguards provided by a Constitution adapted to the wants of the age in which it was made. I have clung with warm affection to the Government, under which we have become so prosperous and great, and have endeavored to repel the conviction, which events have forced upon me, that that Government is about to be perverted to purposes never designed by its founders; that the Union is broken in spirit by the attempted destruction of the equality of the States which compose it, and the forms of the Constitution invoked to cloak the perpetration of outrages upon the rights of some of the Sovereignties which formed it.

Slavery existed in the Colonies in the Revolutionary era, and in every State but one, when the Constitution was formed. Its existence was recognized in that instrument by providing for its representation in the popular House of the National Legislature. The Master was protected by an express affirmation of his right as a citizen of one State to have "delivered up" to him his slave "escaping into another." To this agreement and compact, sovereign States assented; it was part of the bond; it was one of the conditions of fellowship—one of the inducements to the States where slaves were most numerous, and slavery was thought to be permanently fixed, to secure their adhesion to a Union which all then believed would "insure domestic tranquility" and "promote the general welfare." In a few years the States having an ungenial climate and a sterile soil found they had no need of slavery as a system of labor, and abolished it within their own limits. They were prompted to this not by considerations of mock philanthropy, as is assumed in the hypocritical cant of these latter days, but simply and exclusively by a regard to their material interests. Other States, situated in a more tropical clime, and having within their borders a soil adapted to the growth of products which increase the happiness and augment the wealth of mankind, have retained slavery, because practical experience has demonstrated that it is useful, profitable, and essential. While, however, the great law of necessity and adaptation has controlled the operation of changes in the two systems of labor, we have not ignored the moral and social aspect of the question. Men of intelligence—politicians, moralists, and statesmen—formerly apologized for the existence of slavery among us on the score of inexorable necessity, and shrank from a defense of their people for its retention. But when Abolitionism, emboldened by increasing strength, began to attack our system of labor as a sin and a crime, the moral and religious aspects of the question became the subjects of scrutiny, and the result has been a complete vindication of our institution, and a correction of popular errors concerning it. We have decided to retain it, and believe [illegible] other people, similarly circumstanced, will be benefitted by it. The

non-slaveholding States got rid of it, and we did not complain. They exercised their own judgment and gratified their own desires by that act. But these States not only determined that they would not have slavery themselves, but they have also declared that no new Sovereignty within the sphere of their influence shall have it, and no new soil shall be worked by it, although the inhabitants shall have carried slaves, along with the other members of their household and other property, to their new home, and shall themselves desire the existence of the institution. This is an intolerant and intolerable assumption of power,—an avowal of a reckless resolve to disregard the rights of Southern citizens, and to deprive us of one of the inherent and necessary privileges which attach to us as equals.

So long as such sentiments were confined to scattered, and uninfluential, and despised cranks in New England, they excited no other feeling than contemptuous commiseration, but they have now permeated the whole structure of social and industrial life in the non-slaveholding States, and leavened the whole mass. Their gradual propagation has been evinced by the legislation of these States. Nearly every one of them have nullified the Fugitive Slave Law, and enacted the most stringent penalties against assisting any Master in recovering his slave. There are not more than two or at most three Northern States, I think, that have not legislated in some manner inimical to the clear Constitutional right of the slave owner in this particular. The use of their prisons is denied for the lodgment of escaped slaves, and every officer and citizen is forbidden, under pain of punishment, heavier than that inflicted by them for some heinous crimes, to aid or assist in any manner in the capture of our negroes, while the complete freedom of the slave from any danger from arrest and detention is secured by Personal Liberty Bills. They boast of annually depriving us of that species of property to the extent of millions of dollars. Their citizens form combinations to prevent the emigration of Southern citizens with their slaves, into the unoccupied and common domain of the country. The man who is now the President elect of this Republic of States, has declared, at a recent date, that we could not remain as we have ever been, part slave and part free, but that the conflict between the Northern and Southern systems of labor must end with the downfall of slavery.

The election of Mr. Lincoln by the Northern people, as the representative of these opinions, and the executor of such intentions as are foreshadowed without ambiguity by the public men and political bodies having affinity with him, shews that the Northern mind is poisoned against us, and that it no longer respects our rights, or their obligations. The large majorities given in most of these States for the Electors favorable to Mr. Lincoln, is an evidence of the universality of this feeling of hostility to our institutions, and of the depth to which this delusion of the popular mind has penetrated. The wise counsels of the Fathers are forgotten or unheeded—the fraternal remonstrances of the South, whether made by individual

citizens or sovereign States, are disregarded—the warning of one of their own statesmen, himself an ex-President, that the South neither would nor ought to submit to the election of any one avowing their traitorous policy, has been treated as idle gasconade, and a mad and senseless fanaticism has taken possession of the Northern mind, as if they designed either to drive us to a desperate remedy, or, deceived by our forbearance, relied on our devotion to the Union to force us into a torpid acquiescence, if not an unmanly submission.

The time was when men shrank from calculations of the value of the Union. That has long since passed, and now they who, during a long life, have ever cherished and cultivated veneration for the Government with an almost religious fervor, are driven to the contemplation of its disruption. The Constitution is the only bond of Union. But if it is to be respected and obeyed by the Northern people only when it chimes with their theoretical opinions, or conserves their interests — if we are practically assigned the position of inferiors, when the letter and spirit of the bond is that we are equals—if we are to be oppressed and despoiled of our property, and to be tyrannized over by a hostile Government, and expected to submit because the outrage is perpetrated under the forms of law, then it is better we should retire from an association which has ceased to benefit us through perversion from its original design.

In order therefore, that the future position and proper policy of the State of Louisiana may receive the thoughtful and calm consideration which it deserves, and that her citizens may have an opportunity of giving form and expression to their views in this regard, I recommend to your Honorable Bodies, to provide for the election of Members of a Convention, as soon as may be proper with due regard to time, to whom shall be committed the duty and responsibility of determining that position, and shaping that policy so far as affects the relations of Louisiana to the Federal Government. That Convention will meet, consult, and decide without regard to my opinions as contained in this Message, but I do not think it proper, under existing emergencies, that I, the Chief Executive Officer of the State, should omit the expression of my convictions as to the course which our State ought to pursue.

I have earnestly desired that a Conference or Convention of the slaveholding States should be held in order that they might counsel together, and act unitedly in this grave crisis. I still desire that such a Conference shall be had, if practicable in point of time. Louisiana ought not to refuse to meet her sister slaveholding States in council, and there unitedly determine upon a firm demand to be made of the Northern States for the repeal of their obnoxious legislation, and the guarantee and security of those rights, which have so long been persistently refused. Still, although such a course has seemed to my mind desirable, and I had hoped that a practical and practicable plan might ere this have

been suggested to accomplish this object, I do not think the action of Louisiana should be unreasonably postponed under the mere hope or expectation that such a Body would be at some distant time convened. It should meet at once, and determine at once, before the day arrives for the inauguration of a Black Republican President.

I do not think it comports with the honor and self-respect of Louisiana, as a slaveholding State, to live under the Government of a Black Republican President. I will not dispute the fact that Mr. Lincoln is elected according to the forms of the Constitution; but the greatest outrages, both upon public and private rights, have been perpetrated under the forms of law. This question rises high above ordinary political considerations. It involves our present honor, and our future existence as a free and independent people. It may be said that when this Union was formed it was intended to be perpetual. So it was, so far as such a term can be applied to anything human; but it was also intended to be administered in the same spirit in which it was made, with a scrupulous regard to the equality of the Sovereignties composing it. We certainly are not placed in the position of subjects of a European despotism, whose only door of escape from tyranny is the right of revolution. I maintain the right of each State to secede from the Union, and therefore whatever course Louisiana may pursue now, if any attempt should be made by the Federal Government to coerce a sovereign State, and compel her to submission to an authority which she has ceased to recognize, I should unhesitatingly recommend that Louisiana assist her sister State with the same alacrity and courage that the Colonies assisted each other in their struggle against the despotism of the Old World.

If I am not mistaken in public opinion, the Convention, if assembled, will decide that Louisiana will not submit to the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln. In the temper of the Northern mind it is not possible to foresee the course of policy that Congress may determine upon, and it is the part of wisdom to prepare ourselves for any emergency that its legislation may produce. We are without arms to defend ourselves from attack should our sovereignty be assailed, and it therefore becomes our imperative duty to adopt immediate measures for supplying ourselves with all materials for war. In the brief period which you are likely to remain in session it would be impracticable to reorganize our militia system on a sound basis. In order, therefore, to be prepared for prompt and judicious action, I recommend the creation of a Military Board, or Commission, whose duty it shall be to purchase arms and distribute them to volunteer companies throughout the State, under a system to be devised by the Board. This Board should also be required to mature a plan for the reorganization of our militia, and report to the regular session of the General Assembly on the first day of the session. It should be composed of men of military education and experience, who will

thoroughly understand our wants, and the best and least expensive mode of providing for them. A liberal appropriation ought to be made by the General Assembly—not less than half a million of dollars—to be expended, under the authority of the Board, in the purchase of the best made arms of the most improved patterns. Even if our relations with the Federal Government were other than they are, I should still recommend the same appropriation; for the State may be said to be almost entirely without arms, as you will find by reference to the report of the Adjutant General, which accompanies this Message.

THOMAS O. MOORE.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, Baton Rouge, Dec. 10, 1860.

BIBL. LONDIN. UNIV.